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EDITORIAL

I am extremely delighted to place in the hands of scholars Volume XXI of the Journal. This is perhaps the most voluminous of the issues brought out so far. It contains 25 articles, one Book Review and a comprehensive Index in respect of volumes I-XX of the Journal. It is in the fitness of things that the volume is being released in the city of Dharwar, known for its cultural activities. This city also has the credit of hosting the 1st and 11th sessions of the annual congress of the Society. It is ardently hoped that the twenty first session of the congress being organised in this city, from the 8th to 10th instant under the stewardship of the Vice-Chancellor of the Karnatak University, Dr.S.Rame Gowda, with the active and enthusiastic participation of the members of the Department of Ancient History and Epigraphy, would be a great success. Prof.S.H.Ritti, former Chairman, Prof. Leela Shanthakumari, present Chairman of the Department, Prof.H.R.Raghunath Bhat, Shri Kadakol and their other colleagues have spared no pains in making this session a great success. It is of additional significance that a Seminar on "Dimensions of Epigraphical Studies and Research" is also being organised on the 10th instant under the Presidentship of Dr.G.S.Gai, former Chief Epigraphist, Government of India and a veteran Indologist. Dr.Noboru Karashima, Professor Emeritus, Tokyo University, Japan and an authority on South Indian History, is being honoured by the Society, with a copper-plate on this occasion. Dr.Karashima is also a Life Member of the Society and has been the General President of the Epigraphical Congress, earlier. It is also a matter of great rejoicing for members of the Society that he also presided over the 8th World Tamil Conference, at Thanjavur, Tamilnadu, which is just over. Dr. K.V.Ramesh, the President of the Society who is also the General President of the present session is an eminent epigraphist and has contributed immensely to the field of Indological research. The conference is being inaugurated by Dr.D.V.Devaraj, Director, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Karnataka, Mysore and the XXI Volume of the Journal *'Studies in Indian Epigraphy'* is being released by Shri B.P.Kaniram, Registrar, Karnatak University, Dharwar.

The Society places its deep sense of gratitude to Smt.Lalitha Sethuraman, Kumbakonam, for instituting an endownment of Rs.20,000/- with the Society. The interest on this fixed deposit is to be utilised by the Society for honouring distinguished scholars with a copper plate.S/Shri N. Sethuraman, Director, Raman & Raman Company Ltd., Kumbakonam, Nellai Nedumaran of Tiruchchendur and Shri Subramaniyam of Mythic Society, Bangalore have encouraged the Society by their liberal financial contributions and our sincere thanks are due to them.

The Society is thankful to Dr.Ravindra Kumar, Chairman, Dr.B.K.Pandeya and Dr. P.K.Shukla, Deputy Directors,

Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, for sanctioning financial assistance to the Society for bringing out its Journal. I place on record my sincere thanks to our beloved Chairman Dr.K.V.Ramesh and Vice-Chairmen Dr.Ajay Mitra Shastri and Dr.M.G.S.Narayanan for their valuable guidance in discharging my duties as the Executive Editor and Vice-Chairman. I am beholden to Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer, Secretary and Editor; Dr. M. D.Sampath, Executive Committee Member; Dr. S. Swaminathan, Treasurer and Assistant Secretary and Shri C. S. Vasudevan, Assistant Secretary, for placing at my disposal their ready co-operation. I also thank all the Members of the Executive Committee for their keen interest in the activities of the Society and for their timely help in various ways.

On account of certain unprecedented domestic emergencies, Dr.S.S.Iyer could not make his services available in seeing the Journal through the press. Dr.K.V.Ramesh (our President), Dr.M.D.Sampath and Shri C.S. Vasudevan have helped me in salvaging the situation. On account of their untiring efforts, I have been able to bring out this voluminous issue of the Journal in a record time. To all of them my heartfelt thanks are due.

Shri S.K.Lakshminarayana *alias* Babu, the Proprietor of Ready Print, Mysore deserves all our appreciation and gratitude for the neat get up of the volume.

MADHAV N.KATTI

Vice-Chairman &

Executive Editor

Mysore

5th January 1995

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PLATES

SOME ASPECTS OF HIERATIC, HYBRID AND MIXED SCRIPTS OF EARLY INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

B.N.Mukherjee

Dear Colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am extremely grateful to the authorities of the Epigraphical Society of India for asking me to preside over its present (twentieth) session. I only hope that there will be no cause for disappointment about their decision.

The Society is primarily interested in the study of epigraphs, which constitute a major source of our knowledge of history. An epigraph or inscription is anything "which is engraved or otherwise marked".[1] But to a student of History it has a special meaning, signifying writings (incised or painted or transferred by the process of casting or struck with the help of dies) upon any hard substance like rock, a block of stone or wood, a piece of shell or ivory (or any other type of bone) or leather, an object made of metal or baked (or unbaked) clay, etc. Writings on manuscripts or texts or documents made of birch-bark, palm-leaf, paper, etc., are generally excluded from the study of inscriptions or epigraphs. However, these are also records "marked" with writings and hence should be included under the broad heading of "inscriptions". Following this definition all non-printed materials bearing writings done essentially through manual process, and so with the chances of having variations in the forms of letters, are within the scope of investigations by scholars interested in inscriptions.

Every year new discoveries and decipherment of Indian epigraphs increase our knowledge of history.[2] They also facilitate linguistic and palaeographic research.

The realisation about the importance of epigraphs brings us to the question of the origins and developments of Indian scripts. Substantial progress has been made in the relevant field of research in the second half of the present century. No doubt, the problem of the decipherment of the Indus (or Harappan) script has not yet been solved to the satisfaction of all concerned.[3] Moreover, fresh controversies have been created about the origin of Brāhmī[3], the mother of the vast majority of modern Indian scripts. Nevertheless, great strides have made in several areas of relevant research. For a few examples we can refer to the major contributions made to the studies of the Greek script in the borderlands of the Indian subcontinent (where it was used for writing Greek and Bactrian languages)[5], Aramaic script of the same region [6], Tamil-Brāhmī script of the far south[7], evolution of the current regional scripts[8], etc.[9]

In 1983 a few inscriptions in the so-called Śaṅkha-lipi (Shell-script) were successfully deciphered. Two of these are on a replica in stone of the horse killed at the horse sacrifice performed by the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (C.A. 44155/16-455/56). Since 1983 several other Shell inscriptions have been read. The research done so far reveals that this script, which was in use in the greater part of the In-

dian subcontinent from c. 1st century B.C. to the 8th century A.D., was basically derived from Brāhmī. Its internal structure (the forms derived from current Brāhmī letters) developed with the development of the Brāhmī letters. But in writing the script the vertical positions of the current Brāhmī letters were oriented to left or right and their original forms were often distorted. They were also embellished and sometimes connected with one another with superficial lines apparently to camouflage their identity. The mystifying style was adopted in engraving short inscriptions in Prakrit or Sanskrit on different objects probably to sanctify them in a manner which would compel the viewers to look at the records with reverence but without understanding them immediately. The ritualistic contents of some of the inscriptions may support this hypothesis. This script may indeed be looked upon as a sort of hieratic version of Brāhmī.

The script was probably called Avamūrdha-lipi in the Lalitavistara (10th adhyāya). The name, which literally means "a script, the heads (i.e the upper parts) of the letters of which hang down", tallies well with the style of writing in question. However, this very style defies any attempt to make a standard chart of letters of this script, since the degree of re-orientation and distortion of letters depended on the personal skill and whim of the engravers concerned. Such a stipulation makes the reading of a highly embellished shell inscription a difficult and challenging job. For making further progress in unravelling the remaining mystery of the Shell script a corpus of such inscriptions should be prepared.[10]

We may now turn our attention to a hybrid script like Kharōshṭī, whose nature will be explained a little later. Recently we came to know of a few more letters of the alphabet which should be properly called kharōshṭī (and must not be misspelt as Kharōshṭh)[11]. Short Prakrit inscriptions in this script have been found engraved on blocks of stone lying in the vicinity of stone quarries near Chunar in the Mirzapur district of U.P. These inscriptions of the Kushāṇa age furnish useful data about the working of labourers at the stone quarries. They also reveal the use of two letters (*ṭet* and *shin*) of Aramaic (and Parthian) origin, which are not yet known to have been employed in the Kharōshṭī epigraphs of the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands.[12]

More important was the decipherment of Kharōshṭi inscriptions discovered mainly in the lower West Bengal. It was recognised in 1989 that these Kharōshṭī inscriptions written in north-western Prakrit, had been the results of the presence of trading communities from the north-west in the territory of ancient Vaṅga (lower West Bengal and coastal Bangladesh upto the Padmā) in the period from 1st century A.D. to the early 5th century A.D. The inscriptions, written in three different styles, indicate developments, including a few features not witnessed in the Aramaic (and Pārthian) origin (*aleph*, *ṭet* and *shin*, used in these epigraphs, are not known to have been ever employed in writing Kharōshṭī in the north west. Here in ancient Vaṅga developed in a new variety of the Kharōshṭī script which can be called Eastern Kharōshṭī.[13]

In course of time the users of Eastern Kharōshṭī, who formed a dominant class in the regional population, began to employ Brāhmī and Kharōshṭī simultaneously in their writings. To this interesting development we shall turn our attention a little later, since it has to be preceded by a discussion on the nature of the origin of Kharōshṭī and the evidence of a similar situation elsewhere.

The scripts, used in early ages and/or in modern times in different parts of the world, are generally considered to have evolved in various (natural) ways or to have been created deliberately (with some motives).[14] The names of several such creators (supposed or real) are also known to us.[15] Under the category of the artificially devised scripts one may place any hybrid alphabet produced out of two or more different types of writing after making changes, whenever found necessary, in the forms of the original letters or sign.[16] For example, we can refer to Kharōshṭī, many of whose characters were adopted from Aramaic and some from Brāhmī, with certain modifications of forms.[17] The direction of writing was from right to left, as in the case of Aramaic. The latter also influenced the numerical figures used in writing records in the Kharōshṭī script. [18] The signs for medial vowels, subscript *y* and *r*, etc., were lifted from Brāhmī, but given new orientations (atleast in most of the cases). The script was designed obviously for writing north-western Prakrit in a Brāhmī using zone in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent, where the vast majority of the early Kharōshṭī inscriptions have been found.[19] It was created apparently for the benefit of the Aramaic knowing official scripts.[20] In that case, Kharōshṭī, should have come into use in the early Achaemenid period (in the late 6th or early 5th century B.C.) when there was an effective Achaemenid rule in the north-west.[21] The imperial origin of the script is suggested by its name *Kharōshṭī*, meaning 'empire-put' or 'empire-placed', i.e. 'put or placed in the service of the empire' *[Khara(< Kshathra) + ost - (< os-tat) + i]*[20].

Though created for an official purpose, Kharōṣhṭī must have become popular in the north-west before the time of Aśōka. This development is proved by the fact that two of the Prakrit recensions of his major rock edicts, issued for popular consumption,[23] were written in Kharōshṭī.

No doubt, the indebtedness of Kharōshṭī to Brāhmī is postulated on the basis of a comparison of the forms of the letters of the former known from the records of the Maurya monarch Aśōka of the 3rd century B.C. But there was no inherent difficulty in the existence of Brāhmī, more or less of the Aśōka type, in the 6th century B.C. In fact, since Kharōshṭī could not have possibly come into effect in any age other than that of the early Achaemenid rule in the north-west of the Indian subcontinent, Brāhmī should have been in regular use from a still earlier time.[24] In case of Kharōshṭī itself the tangible proof of its use in the Achaemenid age are only isolated Kharōshṭi letters punched on the contemporary Persian coins, though its pre-Aśōkan origin is absolutely certain.[25]

The hybrid character of Kharōshṭī is well-known. But scholars are not fully aware of another class of scripts which used letters of different origins without changing their form or phonetic nature. In such a type of writ-

ing letters from two or more scripts appeared side by side retaining their original shape and sound-value. Here the letters of different scripts are mixed with one another without losing their identity. A 'mixed script' of this type was probably referred to as "Vimiśrita-lipi" ('mixed script') in the Lalitavistara (c. 1st or 2nd century A.D.).[26] Since early Indian scripts of this nature have not yet attracted sufficient attention of palaeographists, we may be allowed to make some observations on them.

Some of the epigraphs discovered in the last four decades in Afghanistan, South Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan have been found inscribed in an "unknown" script. These have been unearthed so far at Surkh-kotal, Dast-i-Nawuer, Ai-Khanoum (Afghanistan), Kara-Tepe, Khalchayan (Uzbekistan), Khatyn-Rabat and Tekuz-Tepe, and in the neighbourhoods of Kolchozabd and Issyk mound near Alma-Ata (Kazakhstan).[27]

The earliest of these is certainly the inscription engraved in one line (looking like a semicircle) on a silver ingot found at Ai-Khanoum, the urban settlement of which was destroyed (or deserted) in c.130 B.C.[28] While the majority of the letters of this inscription can be recognised as belonging to the Aramaic alphabet or to one of its two branches called Sogdian and Parthian, a few seem to be of Greek origin. But the definite identity of two characters is yet to be established.[29] The Surkh-Kotal inscription of the early Kushāṇa age includes letters from both these groups and also some Kharōshṭī characters.[30] The fact that the last line of this record of three lines occupies only the right side of the length covered by each of the first two lines, though its first letter from the right is placed immediately below the first character from the right of the second line, surely proves that the script concerned was used to be written from the right to the left.[31]

The triscriptal record at Dasht-e-Nawur belongs to the reign of the Kushāṇa emperor V'ima Kadphises (1st century A.D.).[32] One of the inscriptions is in the Bactrian language and the Greek script. The second one is in Kharōshṭi and Prakrit. The inscription in the unknown script includes Greek, Aramaic (or Parthian) and Kharōshṭī characters.[33]

The evidence of the above noted epigraphs and the characters painted on potsherds from Kara-Tepe indicate the employment of conjunct letters and signs for medial vowels (?) even while writing characters of Greek and Aramaic (or Parthian or Sogdian) origins. This feature was introduced probably under the Indian influence.

The identity of the language of the records in question is still uncertain. The hypotheses about its affiliation to a Kambōjian language [34] or to Bactrian[35] or *Prakrit*[37] are of speculative nature. Another theory may be that the script concerned, employing Greek, Aramaic (or rather Sogdian or Parthian) and Kharōshṭī characters (at least during the Kushāṇa age), could have been used for writing Sogdian (in the area of Sogdiana to the north of the Oxus, where Sogdian alphabet was known), Bactrian (written in Greek characters in Bactria in north Afghanistan) and North-Western Prakrit (in the Kharōshṭī using zone to the south-east of the Hindu-Kush).

The 'mixed' script could have been artificially devised to serve as a com-

mon medium of writing in the inter-lined zones of Sogdiana, Bactria and Kamboja or Kapiśā (to the south-east of the Hindu-Kush). In any case, it is clear that the script initially consisted of atleast Greek and Aramaic (or Sogdian or Parthian) letters. Later, probably in the early Kushāṇa age (late 1st century B.C. and 1st century A.D.), the Kharōshṭī alphabet became connected with the script concerned, Kharōshṭī had been in use in Kapiśā, which area came closer to Bactria and Sogdiana with the establishment of a common political authority over the territories concerned.

Another 'mixed' script was introduced in the middle Kushāṇa age (and in the 1st or rather early 2nd century A.D.) in ancient Vaṅga, which, however, was outside the limits of the Kushāṇa empire. We have already referred to the use of the Kharōshṭī script and North-Western Prakrit in that zone from about the second half of the 1st to the early 5th century A.D. by groups of people hailing from the north-west. The people concerned, who initially came from the Kushāṇa empire were traders interested in dealing mainly with rice, pottery, and central Asian horses. They participated in the commercial activities of the region and in Vaṅga's trade with peninsular India and South-East Asia. Many of them became rich land lords and a section of them captured political power in atleast part of Vaṅga.[37].

This influential community gradually adopted the local Brāhmī script for writing. But they retained several Kharōshṭī letters, particularly those whose intended pronunciation would not have been expressed by the corresponding letters in Brāhmī. For an example, Brāhmī *ja*, unlike Kharōshṭi *ja*, could not be utilized to express the phonetic value of the letters *z*,(c.f. *Azes = Aja)*. Probably such a situation led to the introduction of a 'mixed' script consisting of Kharōshṭi and Brāhmī characters. A sentence in the 'mixed' script is to be read from left to right if the first letter is in Brāhmī and the direction of reading is to be reversed if it is Kharōshṭi.[38]

Inscriptions in Kharōsihṭī and the 'mixed' script, which may be called Kharōshṭi -Brāhmī, have been found on plaques, vessels (pots and jars), seals, etc. They furnish valuable data about political, social, economic, religious and cultural history of Vaṅga, from the 1st to the 5th century.[39] Art objects of this zone and period also contain elements of Gandhāra as well as Mathura art.[40] That there were continual contacts between the north-western communities living in Vaṅga and their homeland in the north-west is indicated by the discoveries of a few Kharōshti-Brāhmī inscriptions in the latter area.[41]

Kharōshṭī and Kharōshṭī-Brāhmī inscriptions have been unearthed in Thailand, South Vietnam and Bali (Indonesia). These and other archaeological finds and also the evidence of Ptolemy and a few Chinese texts indicate the settlements of Kharōshṭī and Kharōshṭi-Brāhmī using trading communities in certain localities of South-East Asia. These people of north-western origin reached South-East Asia via their adopted habitat in Vaṅga. In fact, the epigraphs concerned now constitute an important source of our knowledge about East India's trade with South-East Asia in the early centuries of the Christian Era.[42]

A Kharōshṭī on Kharōshṭi-Brāhmī

using community continued to live in the area of Thailand even in the 7th century A.D., if not still later. It was influenced enough to persuade the administration of the kingdom of Dvārāvatī (c. 7th to 10th century) to issue a series of coins bearing legend in the Kharōshṭī-Brāhmī script.[43]

The inscriptions in Eastern Kharōshṭī and Kharōshṭi-Brāhmī, found in the area of ancient Vaṅga (now included in lower West Bengal and coastal Bangladesh up to the Padma) and in South-East Asia, allude to the presence of communities hailing originally from the north-west of the Indian sub-continent and its borderlands. The ethnic or cultural implications of a script cannot be demonstrated in a more convincing manner.[44]

It appears that our knowledge about the 'hieratic', hybrid, and 'mixed' scripts of early India has considerable advanced in the last two decades.[45] It is expected that epigraphs in different Indian scripts and languages will be discovered continually in future as they have been till now. But, unfortunately, the expertise in reading and interpreting inscriptions is on the wane. The lack of economic opportunities, the official policy (in several states) to discourage the learning of classical languages, the apathy of the departments of archaeology (at the centre and in the states) and the dwindling number of expert-teachers in the universities forebode ill for Indian Epigraphic studies. I wonder whether the members of the Epigraphical Society of India can make a concerted attempt to reverse the dangerous trend. If they fail, a time may come when discoveries of inscriptions, in at least certain scripts, will not augment our knowledge due to lack of interpreters.

Indian epigraphic study began with brilliant amateurs. It may again go back to amateurs. But they will be mostly commercial dealers and curio-hunters. Should not we try wholeheartedly to save the Indian epigraphy from such a calamity?

Notes and References

1. W.Geddie, *Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary*, new edition, London, 1959, p.548.

2. In this connection the relevant numbers of the *Epigraphia Indica, Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy; 'Indian' Archeology. A Review, Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* (cited below as *JESI)*. etc. A very useful survey of a fairly large number of inscriptions, recently discovered in India, especially in South India, was made by Sri.Madhav,N.Katti in Shankara Parvathi Endwoment lecture delivered in Madras in March, 1994. Its text is awaiting publication.

3. For a few important studies, see A Parpola *et al, Materials for the Study of Indus Script*, Helsinki, 1973, pp. 18 f; I.Mahadevan, *The Indus Script-Texts, Concordance and Tables*, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 3 f; S.R.Rao, *The Decipherment of the Indus Script*, Bombay, 1982, pp. 22 f; *Dawn and Devolution of the Harappan Civilization*, New Delhi, 1991, pp. 200 f; B.V.Subbarayappa, *Indus Script* (A New Approach to its Decipherment), Bangalore, pp. 2 f; etc.

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5. R.Gobi. *Iranica Antiqua*,1961, Vol.I,pp.92 f; W.B.Henning, "The Bactrian Inscription", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1960, Vol.XXIII, no. 1, pp. 47 f; H.Humbach, *Bactrische Sprachdenmaler*, Vol.I, Wiesbaden, 1961, pp.76 f.

6. B.N.Mukherjee, *Studies in the Aramaic Edicts of Aśoka*, Calcutta, 1984 (cited below as *SAEA*), pp. 9 f and pl.X.

7. T.V.Mahalingam, *South Indian Palaeography*, Madras, 1968, the relevant section; I.Mahadevan, *Corpus of Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Madras, 1966, pp. 57 f; *Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Madras, 1970, pp. 1f; *JESI*, Vol. XII, 1985, pp.121f.

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9. In this connection see also D.Handa, "Studies in the Minor Scripts of India During the last Decade", *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1990, no.1-2, pp. 40 f.

10. B.N.Mukherjee, *Decipherment of Shell Script*, Lucknow, 1983, pp. 10f; R.K.Sharma, (editor), *Studies in the Shell Script*, Delhi, 1990, pp.21 f.

11. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1981, pp.144f.

12. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1991, pp.85 f; *Pragdhara*, no.1, 1990-91, pp.53.

13. B.N.Mukherjee, *Kharōshṭī and Kharōshṭī-Brāhmī Inscriptions in West Bengal (India)* (published as the *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Vol. XXV) Calcutta, 1990 (cited below as *KKBI*), pp.9 f.

14. D.Diringer, *The Alphabet - A Key to the History of Mankind*, reprint London, 1953, pp. 19f; A Gaur, *A History of Writing*, London, 1984, pp. 130 f.

15. A Gaur, *op.cit.*, pp. 130-31.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-34. The syllabic script of the Miao (in south-western China), was created in 1904 with the help of geometric (or mathematical)) signs, numerals and Roman letters (with additional signs). This form of writing with the phonetic and structural changes in original signs, is a hybrid one. This appellation cannot be given to the Tamil-Brāhmī script, which is a variant of the Brāhmī alphabet, adopted to the Tamil phonetic system. A few letters were added to the existing Brāhmī script (*JESI*, Vol.XII, 1985, p.121). An analogous view may be taken of the Arabic script adopted for writing languages of a number of countries of Asia (including Persian of Persia and Urdu of India, Africa and Europe (D.Diringer, *op.cit.*, pp. 276f, 297f and 567). Similarly the Roman (or Latin) alphabet was utilised to write several languages of these three continents (*Ibid.*, p.567). The Russian alphabet is known to have been commissioned for writing various Finn-Ugrian and Tarco-Tatar languages (*ibid*). But in cases where a script has been only partly adopted and great changes made in the forms and phonetic values of the adopted letters and several characters are taken from other sources the results is a hybrid script. A case in point is the Balti script in the extreme north-west of the Indian sub-continent.

17. A.H.Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, Oxford, 1963, pp.251f; pls.XXIII a and b.

18. C.C.Dasgupta, *The Development of the Kharoshṭī Script,* pp. 255 f and table XIV; *SAEA*, pp. pl. X.

19. Certain Kharōshṭi characters had no corresponding letters in Aramaic, though Brāhmī letters with phonetic values apparently analogous to those of the concerned characters were available at the time of the creation of the script. But these were not adopted probably because of the absence from them of an inherent aspirant sound required in the writing the intended letters for expressing North-Western Prakrit, which had become phonetically highly aspirant under Iranian influence. The creators of the script, who understood such a necessity owing to their Iranian background, could not, however, realise the importance of the use of long vowel signs due to their lack of expertise in the Indian phonetic system.

20. C.C.Dasgupta, *op.cit.*, pp.280 f.

21. E.J.Rapson, (editor), *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 33f.

22. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1981, pp.144 *KKBI*, p.9. These considerations do not allow us to accept the views of Prof.C.D.Chatterji or of Prof.V.S.Pathak about the origin of Kharoshṭī (*Acharya-Vandana, D.R Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume,* edited by S.Bandyopadhyay, Calcutta, 1982, pp. 210 f; *JESI.*, Vol. XIII, 1986, pp.7-9).

23. *SASE*, p.46.

24. A few Brāhmī characters counter-marked on some silver coins of the Achaeminid empire may allude to the use of the script concerned in the period of its rule (E.J.Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Strassburg,, 1897, p.3 and pl.I, no.4; C.C.Dasgupta, *op.cit.*, p.292)). The work of the British Anuradhapura Project has unearthed some potsherds bearing Brāhmī inscriptions at a layer datable (on the basis of the radio carbon dating of certain materials found there) to c.5th century B.C., If this dating is relevant to the potshreds discovered in the area of Anurādhapura in Sri Lanka, then the Brāhmī script should have reached that country by c.5th century B.C.

It may not be out of place to record here that a much discussed inscription on a jar, claimed

to be assignable to the 15th century B.C.(S.R.Rao, *Dawn and Devolution of the Indus Civilization*,pp.273-76), consists of seven characters including three having affinities to three Brāhmī letters of the age Aśoka (3rd century B.C.)*Ibid.*,pl.XLIX). The characters concerned, the fifth, sixth and the seventh of the inscription of one line read from left to right, have some resemblance respectively to Aśokan *gha,ja* and *ma*. If these had the same phonetic values as those of the Aśokan letters, and if the inscription is really datable to the 15th century B.C., then Brāhmī could have begun to evolve by that time (see also *JESI*, vol.XIII, 1986, pp.2-6).

25. E.J.Rapson, *op.cit.*, p.3 and pl.I no.4; C.C.Dasgupta, *op.cit.*, pp.290f. The evidence of the use of Kharoshṭī in the Shabhazgarhi and Mansehra versions of the major rock edicts of Aśoka clearly establishes that Kharōshṭī had already become a well-known script in those localities. Otherwise, there was no point is using it in records meant to be read by public as well as in public.

26. *Lalitavistara*, 10th adhyāya; *KKBI*, p.14.

27. *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, Vol.CCXVI, p.417; G.A.Pugochenkova, *Khalchayan*, Tashkent, 1966, p.59 and fig. 35; *Bulletin de I'Ecole Francaise d'Extréme - Orient.* (cited below as BEFEO), 1974, Vol.LXI, pp. 22f and pl. V; *JESI*, Vol.IV pp.14f; *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Compte Rendus*, (cited below as *AIBL*, April-June, 1980, pp.439-40; B.Y.Stavisky, *Kara-Tepe, 1974-77,* Moscow, 1982, pp. 160 f; V.V.Vertogradova, *Indian Inscriptions and Inscriptions in Unknown Lettering from Kara-Tepe in Old Termez*, Moscow, 1985, pp.34f; etc.

28. The Greek city at Ai-Khanoum in Bactria seems to have come to an end with the conquest of Greek Bactria by groups of nomads in c. 130 B.C. (B.N.Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source - A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, Calcutta, 1970 pp.70-71).

29. *AIBL*, April-June, 1980, p.440, fig.3.

30. *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, Vol.CCXVI, pl.IV.

31. *JESI*, Vol. IV, pp.14-15.

32. *BEFEO*, 1974, Vol.LXI, pp.12 f. and pls. XIVf.

33. *Ibid.*

34. G.Fussman, *Ibid.*, p.33.

35. P.Bernard, *AIBL*, April-June, 1980, p.439

36. B.N.Mukherjee, *JESI*, Vol.IV, p.21,

37. *KKBI*, pp.12-14 and 17f.

38. *Ibid.*, p.14

39. *KKBI.*, pp.14 and 23f.

40. *Ibid.*, pp.31-32.

41. *Ibid.*, pp.39 and 73.

42. *Ibid.*, p.34 and 75; *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1990 pp.99f.

43. *The Shilpkaorn Journal*, Vol.34, no.2, 1991, p.51. See our article in the volume which is being published in honour of D.W.MacDowall.

44. The Gabuli Tana script of the Maldivi islands consists of Arabic and Maldivian numerals with different phonetic values and a few persian-Arabic letters (D.Diringer, *op.cit.*, p.392. It may be considered as a hybrid (and also a mixed?) script.

45. We may here refer to the significant discoveries of groups of inscriptions, including Kharōshṭī graffit, in the areas of Alam Brige, Chilas and Hunza in the extreme north-western section of the Indian sub continent.

1. NACHNĀ-KĪ-TALĀI AND GANJ INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF VĀKĀṬAKA PṚITHIVIĪSHENA - SOME OBSERVATIONS

Ajay Mitra Shastri

Sir Alexander Cunningham located in 1883-84 a couple of inscriptions in a small village called Nachnā-ki-talāi (literally, 'tank of Nachnā') on two faces of a loose lithic slab found lying in the ground outside the fort of Kuṭhārā or Kuṭhārgaḍh in the Jaso State now included in the Panna district of Madhya Pradesh. Of these, one inscription is only partially engraved and the scribe after engraving the first few words comprising sixteen letters realised that the face was too rough and then inscribed the entire record again on another face completely. Cunningham gave his reading of the text of the complete inscription togethher with the lithographs of both of them in the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. XXI (1885), pp. 97f. Later, both the inscriptions together with illustrations were incorporated by J.F. Fleet in his *Inscriptions of the early Gupta Kings and their Successor.*[1] A few decades later in 1919 Rakhaldas Banerji found another identical inscription engraved on a detached slab lying at the bottom of a *ḍongā* close to a ruined structure, perhaps a dam to hold the waters of the stream passing along the said *ḍongā* at the village of Ganj, not very far from the provenance of the aforesaid records then included in the Ajaygaḍh State of the Bundelkhaṇḍ Agency now forming part of the Panna district. It was published by V.S. Sukthankar.[2] V.V. Mirashi included all these three records in his *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas.* [3]

If we ignore the incomplete inscription, [4] the two inscriptions are identical literally in text and script which respectively are in Sanskrit and box-headed variety of the southern Brāhmī. They refer to some pious acts of a personage called Vyāghradeva and described as meditating upon the feet of Pṛithivīsheṇa, the *Mahārāja* of the Vākāṭakas, for the religious merit of his parents.[5] What these pious acts were is nowhere specified. The only word used is *kṛitam* which is an error for *kṛitavān* meaning 'did' or 'made'. Obviously, the slabs in question in both the cases formed part of the structure erected by Vyāghradeva which could have been any thing. But it appears most likely on circumstantial evidence that the Ganj inscription refers to the construction of the aforesaid dam. Similar might have been the case with the Nachnā-kī-talāi inscription through the possibility of an allusion to some temple or image cannot be ruled out altogether.

Vyāghradeva is said to have been meditating on the feet of the Vākāṭaka king named Pṛithivīsheṇa, and even though he is not clearly described so, scholars have generally taken him to be a vassal of the said Vākāṭaka monarch. And as till the publication of the Bālāghāṭ plates in 1907-08 only one king of this name in the Vākāṭaka dynasty was known, he was naturally identified with the homonymous overlord of Vyāghradeva. However, after the discovery of these Bālāghāṭ plates[6] which brought to light another later king of this name who was the great-great-grandson of the Pṛithivīsheṇa known till then, it became known that there were two, not one, kings of this name in the Vākāṭaka dynasty who came to be designated as

Pṛithivīsheṇa I and II, and it became a problem to identify the homonymous king mentioned in the Nachnā-kī -talāi and Ganj inscriptions. Kielhorn himself, who edited the Bālāghāṭ plates, did not express any opinion on the issue. But Sukthankar attributed the Ganj inscription to Pṛithivīsheṇa I.[7]. But after this the opinion on this question got divided, with some scholars continuing to identify him with the first king of this name[8] and others favouring the second king.[9] However, as this question is of paramout importance to the students of Vākāṭaka history in particular and of early Indian history in general, it is of vital interest to arrive at a definite conclusion on this issue taking into account all the possible evidence which could have a direct/indirect bearing on this question.

There was an interval of a little less than a century between the reigns of the two Pṛithivīsheṇas : Pṛithivīsheṇa, according to our chronology, [10] ruled from c. 355 to 385 A.D, while the second ruler of this name flourished between c. 480-500/505 A.D.And as the Vākāṭaka records are not dated in any known reckoning but only in the years of the individual reigns, we have to determine the chronology of the dynasty on other considerations, and synchronisms with other dynasties of known dates, gone a long way in fixing the general chronology. Palaeography is sometimes used as a means of fixing the dates of individual records and correspondingly those of the rulers referred to in them. But as indicated by a comparison of the palaeographical arguments of D.C. Sircar[11] and V.V. Mirashi,[12] on palaeographical considerations the insciptions in question cannot be assigned definitely to any of the two kings. We have, therefore, to be guided by some other evidences in deciding one of the two kings in question.

V.V. Mirashi takes these inscriptions as the evidence of the expansion of the Vākāṭaka kingdom into the Bundelkhaṇḍ region during the time of Pṛithivīsheṇa II and he finds support for his ascription of these records to the reign of this king in the mention of his vassal Vyāghradeva whom he proposes to identify with the Uchchakalpa *Mahārāja* Vyāghra, father of *Mahārāja* Jayanātha, mentioned in some of the records of the family, who seems to have ruled almost contemporaneously with Pṛithivīsheṇa II : as Jayanātha is known to have been ruling in the Gupta years 174 and 177[13], his reign may be taken to have extended from 490 A.D. onwards and that of his father Vyāghradeva may be taken to have ruled immediately prior to it[14].

This view, however, is based entirely on the identity of the two names and as such cannot be taken seriously. As we have just seen, there is no palaeographical compulsion to date these records in the latter half of the fifth century A.D. Secondly, and this is most important, the inscriptions under review give the name of the supposed vassal of the Vākāṭaka *Mahārāja* Pṛithivīsheṇa as just Vyāghradeva without any regal title, whereas the Uchchakalpa charters in question refer to him as Vyāghra, not Vyāghradeva, but his name is preceded by the feudal title *Mahārāja* which is conspicuous by its absence in the Nachnā-kī-talāi and Ganj inscriptions. Moreover, the Uchchakalpa records nowhere indicate that *Mahārāja* Vyāghra, was a Vākāṭaka feudatory, and the employment of the Gupta era for dating by his son Jayanātha would, following Mirashi's ar-

gument, indicate that he acknowledged the suzerainty of the Imperial Guptas in a general way [15] though was free to act completely and independently in the internal matters as would follow from his inscriptions which record land-grants made by him and his successors without allusion to the Gupta overlords. Moreover, it is also possible that the Vyāghradeva mentioned in the Nachnā Ganj inscriptions was, going by their wording, an important/ordinary state official, and not a vassal of Pṛithivīsheṇa, as generally assumed by scholars. In view of these facts the identity of Vyāghradeva mentioned in the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions with the Uchchakalpa *Mahārāja* Vyāghra based as it is squarely on that of the two names is extreemely doubtful and cannot form the basis of such an important theory as the expansion of the Vākāṭaka kingdom in the Baghelkhaṇḍ- Bundelkhaṇḍ region during the reign of Pṛithivīsheṇa II. Moreover, as observed by H.C. Raychaudhuri, the Bundelkhaṇḍ-Baghelkhaṇḍ region including Nachnā and Ganj was under the Gupta, not Vākāṭaka, suzerainty for quite sometime (to be precise, atleast upto 528 A.D.) since the days of the mighty Gupta emperor Samudra Gupta. His Eraṇ (Sagar district, Madhya Pradesh) inscription[17] shows that he had extended his direct rule at least upto Sagar in the South. Moreover, as the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* ruling to the west of the Uchchakalpa kingdom explicitly acknowledged the suzerainty of the Imperial Guptas,[18] their Uchchakalpa neighbours must have also owned, as a matter of geopolitical, if not anything else, compulsion, the Gupta suzerainty, even though their records are reticent on this point. Moreover, the recently discovered Shankarput (Sidhi district, Madhya Pradesh) charter of *Mahārāja* Harivarman, dated in the Gupta year 168 leaves no doubt whatever that the Baghelkhaṇḍ- Bundelkhaṇḍ region, where Nachnā and Ganj were situated, was ruled by Harivarman as a feudatory of the Gupta emperor Budha Gupta in 487-88 A.D.[19] The inscription refers to a couple of generations preceding. Harivarman which would indicate that the area in question formed part of the Gupta empire since a much earlier date. This should conclusively establish that the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions cannot be attributed to the time of Pṛithivīsheṇa II.[20]

Let us now examine a few other arguments adduced in support of the theory identifying the Vākāṭaka king Pṛithivīsheṇa of these inscriptions with the second king of this name. It is argued that the Vākāṭaka expansion to the north of the Narmadā had begun as early as the reign of his grandfather Pravarasena II, maternal grandson of Chandra Gupta II, himself. While other plates of his Indore grant were known much earlier,[21] the first missing plate was found recently and the text on it began with the expression *Tripurī-vāsakāt,* 'from a temporary abode at Tripurī', showing that the charter was issued from his (Pravarasene II's) camp at Tripurī, modern Tewar, in the Jabalpur district of Madhya Pradesh.[22] Mirashi took it to indicate that Pravarasena II carried his victorious arms north of the river Narmadā into Ḍāhala or Baghelkhaṇḍ region of Madhya Pradesh and was in occupation of the city of Tripurī in the twenty-third year of his reign roughly equal to

443 A.D.[23] He invites our attention to verse 4 of Skanda Gupta's Bhītarī pillar inscription[24] which is generally taken to refer to the invasion of the Gupta empire by the Pushyamitras towards the close of the reign of Kumāra Gupta I in which the Guptas were reduced to such a hopeless situation that Skanda, Gupta, who led the defensive operations, had to spend a night on bare ground. And as the reading *Pushyamitrāṁś=cha* is not beyond doubt, he accepts the alternative reading *yudhy amitrāṁś=cha* suggested by H.R. Divekar[25] and conceded by some other epigraphists,[26] and holds that the enemies said to have been routed by Skanda Gupta during the closing years of his father, Kumara Gupta, included the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II who went all out to expand his kingdom north of the Narmadā at the cost of his maternal uncle Kumāra Gupta I.[27] And identifying as he does the Vākāṭaka monarch Ṛithivīsheṇa spoken of as Vyāghradeva's sovereign in the latter's records in question with the second Vākāṭaka ruler of that name, he holds that the Baghelkhaṇḍ region, which was annexed by Pravarasena II, continued under the Vākāṭakas till the close of Ṛithivīsheṇa II's reign in c. 490 AD, i.e., upto the time of the Gupta emperor Budha Gupta.[28] This line of argument is, however, beset with many a difficulty. First, the term *Vāsaka* does not connote only a military camp but refers simply to camp or temporary residence.[29] Taking the case of the Vākāṭakas themselves, the Waḍgāon plates of Pravarasena II himself were granted from the king's *vāsaka* on the bank of the river Hiraṇyā[30] which was included very much within the Vākāṭaka territory and there could absolutely be no question of any military camp set up in course of an invasion of an enemy territory, an expression with an unambiguous connotation like *skandhāvāra* or *jaya-skandhāvāra* which is known to Indian epigraphy,[31] would have been employed. It is, therefore, not at all necessary to assume that Pravarasena II had gone to Tripurī only for military purposes. His relations with the Guptas being very close, he could have gone to and stayed at Tripurī (and, for that matter, any place in the Gupta empire) for any purpose including holidaying or pilgrimage, for Tripurī appears to have been treated as a holy place.[32] There would perhaps have been some justification for Mirashi's assumption had the villages named in the record in connection with the grant recorded in this inscription been situated in the Tripurī region which, as admitted by him, is not the case.[33] Moreover, had the Gupta-Vākāṭaka relations become that hostile during Pravarasena II's reign as Mirashi would have us believe, the reference to the matrimonial alliance, which is definitely indicative of friendly and cordial relations, would have been dropped in later records of the dynasty. However, the phrase expressing this relationship continues to find a proud place not only in the subsequent records of Pravarasena II himself, but to the very end of this branch of the dynasty.[34] Not only this, the recently discovered Rāmṭek inscription put up to commemorate the death of Pravarasena II's mother Prabhāvatī Gupta extols not only his maternal grandfather Chandra Gupta II but a few of his successors including Kumāra Gupta I and Ghaṭotkacha Gupta, and

this inscription, it is important to remember, was put up after the twenty-third year of his reign.[35] Thus the Indore plates have absolutely no bearing on the problem under review.

It is sometimes felt that Narēndrasena at least had established his authority over a substantial part of the territories included earlier in the Gupta empire. This naive assumption is based on the uncritical acceptance of the claims made on his behalf in three of the copper-plate charters of his son Pṛithivīshena II that his father's behests were obeyed by the lords of Kosalā (Chattīsgaḍh region), Mekalā (Amarkanṭak region) and Mālava (Mālwā) in the present state of Madhya Pradesh.[36] We have to view these boastful claims in the perspective of the calamitous situation faced by Narēndrasēna at the beginning as well as in the later part of his reign. An expression found in these charters with reference to Narēndrasēna was read by earlier epigraphists as *pūrvv- ādhigata-guṇa-viśvāsād=apahṛita-vaṁśa-śriyaḥ*[37] It has now been proved to be erroneous by the recent discovery of the Māṇḍhaḷ plates of Pṛithivīshēṇa II's tenth year and checking with its help the proposed reading in other charters. The correct reading now is *pūrvyv-ādhigata-guṇavad=dāyād-āpahṛita-vaṁśa-śriyaḥ*[38] which should refer to two important phases of his life and is pregnant with enormous historical significance. It would mean that his family fortune which was earlier acquired by him (Narēndrasēna) was (later) carried away (or forcibly seized) by (his minor relations.[39] Thus the demise of his father Pravarasēna II appears to have been followed by a struggle for succession wherein, to begin with, Narēndrasēna succeeded only to lose later to his minor relations, most probably of the Vatsagulma branch. The claim that he (Narendrasena), held in check the enemies bowed down by his valour' *(pratāpa-praṇat-ari-śāsanasya)* most probably refers to his success against the enemies that had obstructed his succession, and not to any fresh conquests. During the later part of his reign the whole or a major chunk of his kingdom was under enemy occupation, and the enemy in question was most probably Dēvasēna of the Vatsagulma branch of the dynasty. In view of these recently known facts the claim about his successes against Kosalā, Mekalā and Mālava has to be taken with a pinch of salt and as highly exaggerated. In any case at present we have no independent evidence to sustain this claim. Neither any record of the Vākāṭakas has been reported from these regions nor do the records of other ruling families of these regions provide any hint of Vākāṭaka occupation. The claim in regard to Mekalā was till recently sought to be supported on the assumption that the Bamhanī plates made a veiled allusion to Narēndrasēna and that Bharatabala, the Pāṇḍava chief of Mekalā and the supposed issuer of this charter, was a vassal of Narēndrasēna.[40] However, this unfounded assumption, which derived its inspiration from the claim in respect of Narēndrasēna's authority over Mekalā in his son and successor Pṛithivīshēṇa's charters,[41] has now been proved to be erroneous by the rather recently published Mallār plates of Śūrabala Udīrṇavaira.

These plates have a prose sentence introducing Bharatabala's son and successor, Śūrabala Udīrṇavaira, which has been left out by inadvertence in the Bamhanī plates which are otherwise generally identical and leave absolutely no doubt that these plates also, like the Mallār charter, belong to Śūrabala Udīrṇavaira.[42] Furthermore, as we have shown elsewhere,[43] Bharatabala and his son Śūrabala were separated from Narēndrasēna by a long period of time and consequently there is no question of any one of them owning allegiance to him. In view of these facts it is difficult to appreciate the exact significance of these claims. It is not impossible that in view of the family's friendly relations with the Imperial Guptas he participated in some campaigns for restoring Gupta authority in these regions during the reigns of Skanda Gupta and Budha Gupta and might have claimed success against these rulers as his own. Alternatively it may be surmised that he took advantage of the precarious situation in which his Gupta cousin was placed to carry out hurried raids in these territories. Moreover, it was just impossible for him to entertain any idea of a campaign of victory in view of the difficulties at home. To sum up, it leads us nowhere in the matter of the identification of Vākāṭaka Pṛithivīshēṇa of the two records in question with the second king of that name. And by the rule of elimination the only Vākāṭaka king of this name that is available for identification is Pṛithivīshēṇa I.

That the Vākāṭaka king Pṛithivīshēṇa of the Nachnā and Ganj epigraphs could be only Pṛithivīshēṇa I is established by a few other considerations as well. The original home of the Vākāṭakas has long been a matter of controversy, and the only guiding evidence is that furnished by the rather brief Purāṇic statement about the first two kings of the dynasty, viz., Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravīra (i.e., Pravarasēna I). The Purāṇas mention Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravīra at the end of a list of the kings of various regions or countries (*desika*[44]). They inform us that Pravīra had four sons all of whom became rulers, viz., the kingdom was split into four parts under four sons.[45] These same kings are in another context called Vindhyaka, viz., 'belonging to the Vindhyan region'.[46] The founder's or first king's name Vindhyaśakti, 'one whose strength is Vindhya', also points in the same direction.[47] In ancient times the Vindhya was regarded as one of the seven major mountain chains (*kula-parvatas*). It is interesting to note that the Purāṇas name the Sātavāhanas also as Āndhra or Āndhra-jātīya[48] after their original habitat as they do also in the case of the Imperial Guptas whose original home lay in and is mentioned in the Purāṇas as Prayāga on the Gaṅgā, Sāketa and Magadha even though they were compiled during the reign of, at the earliest, Samudra Gupta,[49] who had extended the empire far and wide. So the stress almost always was on the original territory even after the expansion of a given kingdom. So the Vākāṭakas, too had their original home or kingdom in the Vindhyan region. However, there exists a considerable uncertainty regarding the location of the Vindhya *vis-a-vis* the adjacent Ṛikshavat range both in ancient tradition as well as among modern geog-

raphers. But generally speaking, when used in a wider sense the name Vindhya denotes the whole mountain range roughly from Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh to the Arabian Sea in Gujarat and covers both these mountain ranges which are regarded as *kula-parvatas.* But when an attempt is made to distinguish these, the only point of agreement is that the Narmadā divides the two. But as regards the respective connotations, there is great controversy: some scholars applying both these names to the mountain ranges on the two sides of the river Narmadā. But there are some considerations that finally establish that the names Vindhya and Ṛikshavat denoted the ranges to the north and south respectively of the Narmadā. At present the ranges to its south are called Sātpuḍā of which the first component, viz., Sāt, is definitely a derivative of Ṛikshavat. In the Nāsik inscription of the nineteenth year of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi his father Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is described as the lord of a number of mountains including Ṛikshavat which is mentioned in its Prakrit form Chhavata.[50] Sāta is clearly a derivative from Chhavata which would naturally change into Chhāta by the substitution of *va* by *a* which was assimilated with preceding *a* which, as per the normal process, got lengthened into *ā.* Then in the southern Prakrit sibilants and *ch* and *chh* were interchangeable as we know from inscriptions, coins and literary evidence. Thus *Chhimuka* [51] became Simuka[52] *Śānta* became *Chāta* or Chānta, [53] Sātakarṇi[54] became *Chātakaṇi,*[55] and *Vāsiṭhī* [56] turned into *Vāchiṭṭi* [57] conversely, *Chhāta* could well turn into *Sāta.* And the terminal *puḍā* got suffixed to it to indicate the layers. Secondly, the reference in the *Harsha-charita* (VII and VIII) to the Vindhya mountain and forest *(Vindhyāṭavi)* in connection with Rājyaśrī's rescue by her brother Harsha, the description of Vindhya as a pleasure-mound (*krīḍā-giri*) of the Chandella king Vākpati[58] and the allusion to the occcuption of the slopes of the Vindhya *(Vaindhya taṭa)* by the Kalachuri king Kokkalla[59] evidently cannot refer to the mountain chain to the south of the Narmadā. Then, there are several places named after the Vindhya (e.g., Vindhyāchal, Vindhyavāsinī, etc.) in the North while such names are conspicuously absent to the south of the Narmadā. The issue is finally clinched by the *Śākaṭāyana-Vyākaraṇa* which observes that the Pāriyātra is situated to the north of the Vindhya (*Uttaro Vindhyāt Pāriyātraḥ,* II. 2.75),[60] which would have been meaningless if the two were intervened by the Ṛikshavat. The available evidence therefore leaves no doubt that Vindhya was the name of the mountain ranges situated to the north of the river Narmadā. The original home of the Vākāṭakas thus lay in the Vindhyan region (Bundelkhaṇḍ-Baghelkhaṇḍ), and the Purāṇas further inform us that Pravīra-Pravarasēna I ruled over the city of Kāñchanakā[61] which must be looked for in that region.[62] And fortunately for us there is the village of Nachnā or Nachnā-Kuṭhārā which satisfies all the considerations. It has a couple of early Vākāṭaka records in question and an early Gupta-Vākāṭaka temple.[63] It appears that both the initial and concluding *kā*-s have disappeared in course of some seventeen centuries and the remainder-*ñchana* - has been corrupted into Nachnā. Even though Pravarasēna I had expanded

his kingdom southward so as to include the Vidarbha and other adjoining regions, he continued to have his capital at Kāñchanakā or Nachnā and so did his grandson Rudrasēna I who succeeded him and his son and successor Pṛithivīsheṇa I for at least the earlier part of his reign.

The Purāṇic evidence, if interpreted in the perspective of the light offered by the epigraphic data, leads one to the unmistakable conclusion that the Vākāṭakas till at least the time of Rudrasena I, father of Pṛithivīsheṇa I, continued to hold Vindhyan (Bundelkhaṇḍ region. The Purāṇas tell us that Pravīra or Pravarasena I had four sons all of whom became kings. But we have to remember in this connection that the numerous charters of the Padmapura-Nandivardhana-Pravarapura branch of the dynasty make it clear that one of the sons of Pravarasena I, viz. Gautamīputra, [64] did not ascend the throne and in this branch Pravarasena I was succeeded by his grandson Rudrasena I. The Bāsim grant of Vindhyaśakti II[65] brought to light the only other known branch of the dynasty, viz., Vatsagulma, which was founded by another son of Pravarasena I, viz. Sarvasena (I). We know at present no other branch of the dynasty, and it is only future discoveries that may enable us to locate the other two branches. Therefore it is quite likely that PravarasenaI divided his kingdom into four parts during his own life-time, and as his son Gautamīputra was a minor he kept with him the northern portion of the kingdom with him waiting for his attaining majority. But as the things would have it, he passed away without becoming major and Pravarasena I had to bequeath the throne in due course to his grandson Rudrasena I. Thus in this case we have to take the Purāṇic statement in a modified sense referring to his grandson, not son. Rudrasena I continued to hold the Vindhyan region along with his part of the kingdom in Vidarbha together with the intervening area of Central India. From him the whole of this region was inherited by his son Pṛithivīsheṇa I. His hold over the Vindhyan region, which had already slackened due to the shifting of the focus further south in Vidarbha as well as because of the decline of the Bhāraśiva Nāga power [66] in Central India, however, continued during atleast a portion of his reign as indicated by the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions of Vyāghradeva, perhaps a Vākāṭaka vassal, [67] only to be put to an end by the mighty Gupta emperor Samudra Gupta. If Vyāghyradeva was a feudatory, it is likely that his rule was brought to an end and he was included among the rulers of Āryāvarta extirpated by him and alluded to among the numerous other *(ādi)* kings besides those named specifically in Samudra Gupta's Allahabad pillar inscription.[68]It is equally likely that her is identical with Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra referred to as one of the Kings of Dakshiṇāpatha (Deccan and South) vanquished and reinstated by Samudra Gupta. The objection that Vyāghradeva was ruling over the Vindhyan region of northern India can be easily met as ancient Indian writers on geography like Varāhamihira include even Chitrakūṭa hill in the Bāndā district of Uttar Pradesh, sixty-five miles west-south-west of Allahābād in the southern

division.[69] Mahākāntāra may in that case refer to the Aṭavi or forest region stretching from Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh to Mirzāpur in Uttar Pradesh. It comprised of eighteen kingdoms as stated in the Betūl plates of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Sankshobha.[70] And even if he, like other kings of the South, was reinstated by Samudra Gupta, his fief, like those of the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, etc., ceased to exist under the unbearable Gupta pressure. Thus, the Vākāṭaka hold over the Vindhyan region, which had persisted right from the beginning of the family about mid-third century A.D. for over a century disappeared during the reign of Pṛithivīshena I sometime in the period *c.* 350-375 A.D.

To sum up, there is absolutely no doubt that the Nachnā and Ganj records of Vyāghradeva belong to the reign of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛithivīshēṇa I of the Padmapura-Nandivardhana-Pravarapura branch.

Notes and References

1. *C.I.I.* III, Calcutta, 1888, Nos. 53-54, pp. 233-35.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, pp. 12-14.
3. *C.I.I.*, V, Ootacamund, 1963, Nos. 20-22, pp. 89-91 (Nachnā-kī-taḷāi) and 92 (Ganj).
4. The engraved portion is literally identical with the initial portion of the complete inscriptions.
5. The complete corrected text of both these inscriptions engraved in four (Nachnā-kī-talāi) and three (Ganj) lines respectively runs as follows :-

   *Vākāṭakāṇā(nāṁ) mahārāja-sri(śrī) - Pṛithivi- (vī) - sheṇa-pādanuddhyāto Vyāghradevo mātā-pitro - [h *] punyā (ṇyā)rtthe kṛitam (kṛitavān)=iti.*
6. F. Kielhorn, 'Bālāghāṭ Plates of Pṛithivīsheṇa II', *Ep. Ind.*,IX, pp. 267-71.
7. "Vākāṭaka Inscription from Ganj", *ibid.*, XVII, p. 13.
8. K.P. Jayaswal, *History of India : 150 A.D. to 350* A.D., Lahore, 1933, p. 73; H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India,* 6th ed., Calcutta, 1953, pp. 541-42; A.S. Altekar, *A New History of the Indian people,* VI : *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age,* eds. R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar, Lahore, 1946, pp. 109-10; *Early History of the Deccan,* ed. G. Yazdani, Oxford, 1960, p.173; D.C. Sircar, *History and Culture of the Indian people,* III : *The Classical Age,* eds. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar, Bombay, 1954, p. 179, etc. Later, as will be seen in the sequel, Sircar's views on the subject underwent great changes.
9. J. Dubreuil, *IA,* LV, pp. 103ff. ; R.C. Majumdar, *JRASB,* XII, pp. 1 ff. ; K.N. Dikshit, *EI,* XVII, p. 362 V.V. Mirashi, *CII,* V, pp. XXVII-XXVIII, 91-92; *A Comprehensive History of India,* III, Part I, eds. R.C. Majumdar and K.K.Dasgupta, New Delhi, 1981, p. 141. D.C. Sircar who, as we have seen above, was earlier inclined in favour of his identification with Pṛithivīsheṇa I, later gave this position up and favoured his equation with the second king of this name (*Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization,* I, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1965, p. 456 and note 1) and felt that the Vākāṭakas ousted the Gupta rule from Bundelkhaṇḍ about the close of the fifth century

A.D. though he now assigned the characters of the Ganj inscription to the box-headed variety of the Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the sixth century AD.

10. With minor adjustments necessitated by the recently discovered evidence, our chronological scheme is generally the same as that of most of the historians of the Vākāṭakas. Our detailed paper on the Vākāṭakas is under publication in the *Indian Historical Review.*

11. *The Classical Age,* p. 179, fn. 1 : *Select Inscriptions,* I, p. 456 and note 1.

12. *CII*, V, pp. 89-90.

13. J.F. Fleet, *CII*, III, pp. 117 and 121. Mirashi agrees that the dates of the Uchchakalpa inscriptions are assignable to the Gupta era. Vide *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 171ff.

14. *CII*, V, pp. xxvii-xxviii, 91.

15. Of course, we don't believe in the theory that a vassal invariably dated his records in the same era as his overlord though in a way it is likely. We have instances of vassals continuing employing an era traditionally despite accepting the suzerainty of a dynasty which had its own era. Mirashi is dead against it.

16. *Political History of Ancient India,* pp. 541-42.

17. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 268-70, which describes the city of Erakina (modern Eraṇ) as his *svabhoganagara.*

18. The Parivrājaka records commence with the expression *Gupta-nṛipa- rajya-bhuktau*

19. B.C. Jain, 'Shankarpur Plate of Budhagupta and Harivarman, Year 166', *JESI*, IV, pp. 62-66. That the date if the charter actually is 168, not 166, was pointed out by K.V. Ramesh (ibid., p. 64, fn. 1 and p. 66, fn. 17). The supposed connection of Harivarman with the Maukharis can at best be regarded as a brilliant conjecture in the absence of any dependable evidence on the point.

20. After the discovery of the above plate Sircar feels that there is not much time available for the rule of Pṛithivīsheṇa II which he regarded then as an unproved guess and floats the conjecture that his vassal Vyāghradeva might have gone to Nachnā and Ganj in course of a pilgrimage. *Vide* his 'Vākāṭaka occupation of Baghelkhaṇḍ - Bundelkhaṇḍ Region', *The Age of the Vākāṭakas*, ed. Ajay Mitra Shastri New Delhi, 1992. pp. 47-49

21. *Ep.Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 52ff.; *CII*, V, pp. 38ff.

22. See *Indological Research Papers,* I, Nagpur, 1982, p.72, line 1. For a detailed study of the history of this ancient town, see our Hindi work *Tripurī*, Bhopal, 1971.

23. *Indological Research Papers*, I, p.69.

24. J. F. Fleet, *CII*, III, pp. 53-54.

25. *ABORI*, I, p.103.

26. D.R. Bhandarkar, *Inscriptions of the early Gupta Kings, CII,* III, (eds. B.Ch. Chhabra and G.S. Gai), New Delhi, 1981, p. 315; B.Ch. Chhabra in *Dr.Mirashi Felicitation Volume eds.* G.T.Deshpande and Ajay Mitra Shastri), Nagpur, 1965, p. 367.

27. *Indological Research Papers,* I, p.70.

28. *Ibid.,* p.71.

29. Like *vāsa, vāsaka* also connotes an abode, dwelling or habitation. See Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* s.v. *vāsaka.* But in inscriptions, when mentioned as the place of the issue of a charter, it is generally employed in the sense of a temporary residence.

30. *CII,* V, p. 54, line 1. The river Hiraṇyā has been identified with the modern Erāī flowing from north to south in the Wardhā tehsil and ultimately joining the Wardhā.

31. *Cf.* the Nāsik inscription of the eighteenth year of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (D.C Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* I, p. 198, line 1), which is in the nature of a copper-plate charter, was issued from the *vijaya-skandhāvāra* at Govardhana.

32. For references, see our *Tripurī,* pp. 167-68.

33. Some of the villages mentioned in this charter have been located in the Bālāghāṭ district. *Vide CII,* V, p.40.

34. It is found in all the copper-plate charters of Pṛithivīsheṇa II.

35. For a discussion of its contents, see Ajay Mitra Shastri in *The Age of the Vākāṭakas,* pp. 253-57.

36. *Kosalā-Mekalā-Mālav-ādhipatibhir=abhyarchchita-śāsanasya* is the expression met with in the Māṇḍhaḷ (tenth year), Māhurjharī and Bālāghāṭ charters of Pṛithivīshēṇa II.

37. This was the reading of F. Kielhorn, V.V. Mirashi and V.B. Kolte. It was not clear in the Bālāghāṭ plates and therefore Kielhorn doubtfully suggested this reading : with an interrogation mark. But the Māhurjharī plates have the reading suggested by us even clearer than on the Māṇḍhal plates; but Kolte merely followed the reading surmised by Kielhorn, only dropping the question mark.

38. See Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'Māṇḍhal plates of Pṛithivīsheṇa II, years 2 and 10,' *Ep. Ind.,* XLI, pp. 172-74 (for discussion) and 177, line 17 (text)

39. *Guṇavad* cannot be taken in the instant case to mean 'virtuous' and must stand for *gauna,* 'minor'. For a discussion on this point as well as the meaning of *dāyāda, vide ibid.,* pp. 172-74.

40. B.Ch. Chhabra (*ibid.,* XXVII,pp. 137-38) followed by V.V. Mirashi (*CII,* V, pp.83-84). This view was based on the unwarranted assumption that the word *narendra* in the Bamhanī plates (verse 11) alludes to Vākāṭaka Narēndrasena.

41. This claim is found in all his charters except only the Māṇḍhaḷ plates of the second year which just mention him (Narēndrasēna) without any description of his achievements.

42. For the Mallār plates of Śūrabala Udīrṇavaira, *vide* Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyaas, Pāṇḍuvaṁsins and Somavaṁsins,,* Part II, Delhi, 1993, pp. 83-85.

43. "The Date of the Bamhanī and Mallār Plates of Śūrabala Udīrṇavaira", *Bhāratī-Bhānam : Dr. K.V. Sarma Felicitation Volume,*Hoshiarpur, 1980, pp. 439-43.

44. The expression *Nṛipān vai deśikān* used in the Purāṇas while introducing some rulers including the first three generations of the Vākāṭakas has been generally split as *Nṛipān Vaideśikān* and taken to refer to the rulers of Vidiśā (see F.E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age,* Oxford, 1913, pp. 42-43 (text) and 72 (Engl.tr.). But as some rulers to who had apparently nothing to do with Vidiśā are also included in the list, it would be better split the expression into *vai deśikān* and take it to mean 'rulers of various countries or regions'. See also K.V. Ramesh, "On the Vākāṭakas and their inscriptions", *The Age of the Vākāṭakas,* p.29.

45. *Tasya putrās=tu chatvāro bhavishyanti narādhipāḥ, DKA,* p. 50.

46. *Vindhyakānāṁ kulasy-ānte, ibid.,* p. 50, line 1 under 'Dynasties of the third century A.D.' after describing the four sons of Dravīra.

47. Vindhyaśakti, also called Vindhyasena, the second ruler of the Vatsagulma branch of the dynasty, had nothing to do with the Vindhyan region and was merely named after the founder of the dynasty without any intrinsic significance.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 37 and 45 (Andhra) and 38 (Āndhra-*jātīya*). We have discussed at length the question of the original home and nomenclature of the Sātavāhanas in a paper under publication in the Sir William Jones special issue of the *BDCRI*

49. This is evident from the use of plural in the expression *Gupta vaṁśajāḥ.*

50. V.V. Mirashi, *History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and Western Kshatrapas,* Bombay, 1981, p.45, line 2.

51. This is the form of the name found on his coins.

52. This is the form met with in one of the Nāṇeghāṭ label inscriptions which, in our opinion, was put up by Chhimuka-Simuka's brother Kṛishṇa.

53. *Chāṁtasa* for *Śāntasya* on a copper-pot containing 5534 silver punch marked coins found at Chik Sandogi in the Dhārwad district of Karnataka (Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Presidential Address", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* 1978, p.969), and *Chātamūla* for Śāntamūla met with in the Ikshvāku inscriptions.

54. This is the form of the name met with in the inscriptions and in the obverse Prakrit legends on coins.

55. This is the correct reading of the name in the reverse legend of the Sātavāhana silver coins.

56. This is the form of the first component of the metronymic met with in the inscriptions and obverse coin legend of kings bearing the metronymic Vāsiṭhīputa.

57. In our opinion this is the correct reading of the first part of the metronymic in the legend on the reverse of the silver portrait coins of the Sātavāhana monarchs who were Vāsiṭhīputas.

58. Khajurāho Stone Inscription of Yaśovarman, Vikrama year 1011, *Ep.Ind.*, I, verse 13, pp. 125-26.

59. Bilhārī Stone Inscription of the Chedis, *ibid.,* I, verse 16, p.256.

60. *Vide* V.S. Agrawala, *Matsyapurana - A Study,* Varanasi, 1963, p. 194

61. The relevant passage of the text as reconstructed by Pargiter runs as follows :

bhokshyate cha samāḥ shashṭiṁ purīṁ Kāñchanakāṁ cha vai. Vide DKA, p. 50. Jayaswal (*op.cit.,* p.16, fn. 3 and p. 70) followed by Mirashi (*CII,* V, introduction, p. xii) held that the expression *purīṁ Kāñchanakā cha* should be modified and split into *Purikāṁ Chanakāṁ cha va* and that there is actually mention of two capitals here, viz. Purikā and Chanakā, as otherwise it would be difficult to explain the particle *cha*, 'and'. It must be noted in this context that not a single manuscript consulted by Pargiter (*DKA*, p. 50, fn. 33) contained this reading and that the use of particles *cha, hi, tu* and *va* is more often than not due to metrical exigencies only and in the present portion also there are two such particles, viz., *cha* after *bhokshyate* and *vai* at the end. And if one were to look for the meaning everywhere one shall be landing oneself into an unenvieble situation. We are therefore of the firm view that the reference here is only to the city of Kāñchanakā, and not to Purikā and Chanakā. The identification of Chanakā with Nachnā was suggested long back by Jayaswal who also felt that it and Kāñchanakā were probably alternative names. It was possibly founded by Vindhyaśakti though as of now we have no evidence on this point.

62. V.V Mirashi feels in keeping with his theory of the southern original home of the Vākāṭakas that Chanakā must have been situated somewhere in the central part of Andhra Pradesh (*A comprehensive History of India*, III, Part I, p. 131).

63. For the temple, see *Archaeological Survey Reports* XXI, pp.90-95 Pls. XXV-XXVI; *The Classical Age*, pp. 501-06, Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, I Buddhist and Hindu period*, Bombay, 1956, pp. 58, 60.

64. We get only the metronymic' not personal name , of this Vākāṭaka prince.

65. *CII*, V, pp. 93-100. Earlier only this charter and a single plate of the India Office grant of Dēvasena of the Vatsagulma branch were known. But in recent years quite a few charters and a lithic record of the last two members of this branch, viz. Dēvasena and Harishṇa, have come to light.

66. Bhāraśiva king Bḥavanāga was the father-in-law of Gautamīputra.

67. About this we cannot be sure, and it is not impossible that he was an important state official under Pṛithīvisheṇa I.

68. Bhandarkar, Chhabra and Gai, *CII*, III, p. 213, line 21 (*ādy-aneka).*

69. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Bṛihatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira,* Delhi, 1969, p. 50.

70. The inscription actually describes the Ḍabhālā *rājya* (same as the Ḍāhala region) as included in the eighteen forest kingdoms (*s-āshṭādaś - āṭavi-rājy-ābhyantara Ḍabhālārājyam). Vide, Ep. Ind.,* VIII, p. 267, line 9.

2. A BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTION FROM BALI

Iravatham Mahadevan

1. Recent archaeological excavations at Sembiran on the north-eastern coast of Bali in Indonesia have yielded a very large quantity of rouletted and other finely made pottery of Indian origin. Among the finds at this site is a body-sherd of an open dish-like vessel inscribed on its inner surface with three characters of an Indian Script.[1]

2. According to the authors of the report, the script was at first believed to be Brāhmī, similar to that used for the Tamil or Prākṛit graffiti found on many potsherds from South Indian sites such as Arikamēḍu and Sālihuṇḍaṃ and from Anurādhapura in Śrī Laṅka. However according to Prof.B.N.Mukherjee of Calcutta University "The script is Kharōshṭi although no definite translation is possible owing to the fragmentary nature of the inscription"[2].

3. On the basis of Prof.Mukherjee's opinion, the authors have concluded that as the inscription on the sherd is in Kharōshṭi, it indicates the actual presence on the site at Bali of Indian traders, 'probably of ultimate Kushāṇa origin', but traveling from Vaṅga (Bengal) between the 1st and early 5th centuries A.D., and that the sherd itself is likely to be from a North Indian source, perhaps somewhere in Bengal.[3]

4. Subsequently B.N.Mukherjee has republished a photograph of the sherd and attempted a reading of the inscription as follows: *Tosavi......*

   He has not however provided any translation or interpretation of the text as read by him.[4]

5. Prof.Romila Thapar of Jawaharlal Nehru University, who visited Bali in 1993 and had the opportunity to inspect the inscribed sherd, sent me an eye-copy suggesting that I should re-examine the inscription, especially because of the possibility that it could turn out to be in Tamil written in the Tamil-Brāhmī Script (Romila Thapar, Pers.Comm.).

6. I have carefully studied the inscription on the basis of the photographs published by Ardika & Bellwood and Mukherjee and the eye-copy made available by Romila Thapar. In my opinion the authors' first instinct was right and the inscription is indeed in the Prākrit language written in the Brāhmī script in vogue in Southern India and Śrī Laṅka during 1-2 centuries A.D. I set out below in brief the reasons for my view and also transliteration and translation of the text of the inscription as read by me.

7. To begin with, it may be noted that the inscription appears upside down in the published photographs. When looked at from the correct orientation, it is not

difficult to make out the inscription as it is legibly incised in large characters and the sherd appears to be well-preserved. The inscription is however written from right to left, and not from left as is the normal practice in writing in the Brāhmī script. Several instances of such abnormal reversal of the direction of writing in Brāhmī are known from South India and Śri Laṅka. Some examples are: Eraguḍi Edict of Asoka (Sircar 1962); Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions at Kīlvaḷau and Kuṇṇakkuḍi, Several Brāhmī cave inscriptions from Śrī Laṅka.[6]

8. The script of the Bali sherd is Brāhmī of the Southern variety employed in the inscriptions of South Indian and Sri Lanka. The squat sqarish style of the characters is characteristic of the Kushāṇa period in the first two centuries A.D.

9. The inscription consists of three characters only and seems to be complete. The first character (at the right end) is preserved only fragmentarily; but judging from the surviving portion of the character, it is almost certainly *ma*, written in the 'tubular' form characteristic of Tamil- Brāhmī and Śrī Laṅkan early Brāhmī scripts. The second character is clearly *la*, of the squarish type found in South Indian and Śrī Laṅkan Brāhmī inscriptions of 1-2 centuries A.D. The third character *sa* is reversed,apparently under the influence of the reversed direction of writing.

10. *Text & Translation:*

ma? la sa

[Vessel] of Mala (skt., Malla).

The text gives the masculine personal name Mala (Malla) in the genitive. *Mallā* means a 'wrestler' of 'champion', but the term is used here most probably as the proper name of a person.

11. It is interesting to note that there are several close epigraphical parallels to this text from South India and Śrī Laṅka as noticed below:

(i) *Amaravati*: An inscribed sherd of Black-and-Red ware excavated from below the foundational levels of the great Stūpa at Amarāvati in Andhra Pradesh furnishes an identical text *ma la sa* in the Prakrit language and Brāhmī script of the early Mauryan period.[7]

(ii) *Aḷagarmalai*:One of the names found in this cave inscription written in in Tamil in the Tamil-Brāhmī script reads *neṇumalàn*[8]. No.37). The inscription may be assigned to ca.2-1 cent. B.C. on palaeographical grounds.

(iii) *Śrī Laṅka*: Several cave inscriptions from Śrī Laṅka belonging to the early period (3 cent. B.C.-1 cent. A.D.) mention the name Mala in the genitive as as *malaśa* or *malaha*[8]

12. From the close epigraphical parallels cited above from South India and Śrī Laṅka, it is possible to come to a fairly definite conclusion as to the likely Indian source

for the inscribed sherd from Bali. We may rule out Tamil Nadu as almost all inscribed sherds found from the ancient Tamil sites like Arikamēḍu and Kodumanal are in Tamil language written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script. Nor can the source be Śrī Laṅka as in that case we should expect the old Sinhalese forms *Malaá* or *Malaśa* and not *Malasa* as in the Bali Sherd. By a process of elimination, and also taking into account the palaeography of the inscription, the most likely source in South India for this inscribed vessel is the coastal area of Āndhra.

Acknowledgements:

The author wishes to acknowledges the financial assistance recieved from the Indian Council of Historical Research for carrying out his current research programme on Early Tamil Palaeography. The accompanying illustrations are from Ardika & Bellwood (Fig.1), B.N.Mukherjee (Fig.2) and Romila Thapar (Fig.3, eye-copy).

Notes and References

1. Ardika I.W. & Peter Belwood: 'Sembrian: the beginnings of Indian contact with Bali'. *Antiquity* 65:2 Fig.4.

2. Mukherjee B.N. *Kharoshtī and Kharoshtī -Brāhmī Inscriptions in West Bengal (India)*, Indian Museum Bulletin, Calcutta p.225 1990.

3. *Ibid.*, P.226.

4. *Ibid.*, plate XCVII . Fig.4 p.73.

5. Mahadevan, Iravatham 'Corpus of the Tamil-Brhmī Inscriptions'. (in) *Seminar on Inscriptions Nos. 9,69. 1968*, Madras, pp. 57-73.

6. Paranavitana.S, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Vol. I, :Early Brāhmī Inscriptions p.xxii, Nos. 6,16,56,116. 1970.

7. Sarma I.K. '*Early Sculptures and Epigraphs from South-East India: New Evidence from Amaravati'*: (in) F.M. Asher & G.S.Gai (ed.) *Indian Epigraphy and its bearing on the History of Art*: pp.16 1985.

Ep.Ind., Vol. XXXV pp. 1ff.

8. Mahadevan, *op. cit.*, Nos. 37.

9. Paranavitana.S, *op.cit.*, Nos. 318, 345, 1148, 1183 etc.

3. PERIYATIRUKKŌÑAM INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMACHŌḶA, YEAR 9

C.R. Srinivasan

There is a proverb that a son born in the asterism and a strip of land in the outskirts of the village are considered to be the proud possession for which one can aspire for. It is also believed that one whose natal star is *Uttiraṭṭādi*, will have glorious and epoch-making future. This is perfectly true in the case Vikrama Chōḷa (acc. 29th June 1118 A.D.) when the political events and the lavish endowments that were gifted to Lord Naṭarāja of Chidambaram during seventeen long useful years of his rule. The quasi-historical works of literature, viz., *Vikramaśōḻaṉulā, Takkayāgaparaṇi* enrich our knowledge of this period and also attesting to the head and heart of the king. Here we are not concerned with his viceroyalty in Vēṅgī or the political upheavals which the king had to confront with. When peace and plenty were prevalent and reigning supreme the king's reign witnessed famine, flood and scarcity. The aim of the article is to highlight the pitiable plight of the people and the remedial measures taken by the local administration.

The King instituted a festival Perumpey arviḻā the festival of great name at Chidambaram on a magnificent scale in the month of Āṉi, showing his deep devotion to his family deity.

The inscription from Periyatiru kkōṇam, Ariyalur Taluk, Tiruchi District, which I have taken for study here is very interesting. Consisting of 20 lines, it is in a good state of preservation. It is engrav, on the south wall of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of Ādimadhyārjunēśvara temple. It commences with the usual historical introduction *Pūmādu-puṇara*, etc., of the king and is dated in the 9th regnal year.

The inscription records the resolution of the *Nagarattār* of Madhurāntakapuram in Maṉṉaikoṇḍaśōḻa-vaḷanāḍu, a subdivision of Vikramaśōḻav aḷa-nāḍu. The resolution is warranted due to the influx of circumstances.

(1) Ivvāṇḍu viyādiyāḻē manichahar marittu-pōnamaiyil.

(2) Rājēndraśōḻapērāru nīr vaḷakkam minṟiyē karudinavaṉṉam pavir śeyya viṉṉāmaiyilum.

(3) muṉbu sāviyāy iṟuttu varugirapaḍikku

(1) As during the year people have died on account of disease.

(2) As contemplated, their inability to cultivate from the usual or customary water resources of Rājēndra śōḻapērāru; which became defunct.

(3) and as taxes were previously collected as per the rates on fallow lands and the crop became infructuous.

All these three factors mentioned above show that there was an outbreak of epidemic or pestilence which had taken its toll probably depleting the population

of the village. Secondly, it can be inferred that the flood had created a havoc and disrupted irrigational channels/rivers as a consequence of which the irrigation and agriculture received a set-back. Thirdly, instead of usual taxes, taxes applicable during the period of distress and drought were levied.

We are aware of the fact that a big flood brought destruction to the villages and their crops during the sixth year (1118 + 6 = 1124/25 A.D.). A fairly extensive tract of land in North and South Arcot District seems to have felt the effects of the visitation. In the first case i.e., North Arcot, the *ūr* has to raise some money to pay off the taxes of that year.[1]

In the second case[2] i.e., Tiruvadi South Arcot District the *mahāsabhā* had to sell some of the common lands for the payment of land-tax *kaḍaimaittaṭṭu* for the 6th regnal year.

The eleventh year record[3] Kōviladi, (Thanjavur Dist., mentions that the village of Tiruppēr became deserted owing to the advent of bad times.

The impact of the nature's fury was there between 6th and 11th year in the districts of North Arcot, South Arcot and Tanjore. The upper limit in S.A. Dt., is 14th year. The inscription which is under study is dated 9th year and it is from Tiruchi District. It is to be noted here that it is very near to the capital as well as to the Thanjavur District proper. Therefore, the area affected by the distress must have extended into the Thanjavur District also.

In this context, the part played by the *Nagarattār*, which was an organisation totally different from the functional aspects of *ūr* and *mahāsabhā* stepped in, regulated the extent of land to be cultivated and the crop to be cultivated, taking into consideration the fertility of the soil, availability of water, the area worthy of reclamation and the feasiblity of those crops which could be raised, depending on the soil, etc.

Insertion *A. Ivvūr yāṇḍu āṟāvadu peruveḷḷamṇgoṇḍu ūrum bhōgamummaḻindu anarthappaṭṭu ivvūṟai iṟukkai kuḍalilāmaiyil .... (SII-VII No.96)*

B. Rājarājavaḷanāṭṭut tirumuṇaippāḍi...... mahāsabhaiyōm .... kōyililē kūṭṭak kuṟaivarak kūḍiyirunḍu nammūr yāṇḍu b kaḍamait-taṭṭuṇḍāy ittaṭṭuku samudāyamāna nilaṭṭilē śiṟidu nilam viṟṟāgilum kaḍamaittaṭṭu pōkkarukka vēṇumeṟṇu mahāsabhaiyōm sammadittu .....

C. Tiruchchaḍaimuḍiuḍaiyā mahādēvar kōyilil tiru- manḍapattē kūṭṭam kuṟaivarak kūḍiyirindu ... pariśāvadu-kālam pollāḍāy nammūr aḻindu kuḍi ōḍippōykkiḍandamai ... kāśukiḷḷā iṟaiyiliyāgach śeydu kuḍuttōm Peruṅguṟi sabhaiyōm.

Of the 90 *mā* land, only 20 *mā* land was given to Arūpiyār for reclamation. The name Arūpiyār is very interesting as it is a synonym of Manmatha, who is formless. It is equally interesting to notice that all the three geographical divisions mentioned viz., Vikramaśōḷ - vaḷanāḍu, (named after the reigning King) Maṇṇaikkoṇḍaśōḷavaḷanēḍu (referring to Mānya-khāṭa of the Rāshṭrakūṭas) and the Madhurāntaka puram, (Popular title adopted by his predecessors). The village Sūḷamaṅgalam

mentioned is very near to Thanjavur and Kumbhakonam.

The word *vyavasthai* (skt) is written as Javasthai (11.8 and 18) meaning resolution. This is a common occurrence even in earlier inscriptions. (Uttiramērūr/Piḷḷaipākkam, etc).

The name of the signatory Kēśavan Nānūṟṟavan is significant for the numerical suffix attached.

The phrase *kōyiṟṟamar kuḍi varrum uḍanpaḍa*(1.15, of line 8) is a probably residential temple official to whom fines and dues were to be paid.

The imprecatory portion is "aḻivu śolluvār tiruvāṇai Mukkoṟkiḻāmaḍigaḷ āṇai maruttāraiyum nagara virōdham śeydārai akkālaṅgaḷil uḷḷārē tīrttu koḷḷakkaḍavarāgavum, suggests the liability of obeying the command of the queen as well as to persons of authority in future also. It is to be recalled here that Mukkōkkiḻānaḍigaḷ was the queen of Vikrama Chōḷa. As a matter of fact, this name seems to be a generic one, as we find queens of the earlier rulers bearing the same name. (Rājēndra I, Kulōttuṅga II, Rājarāja II)/

Another inscription[4] from Arakaṇḍanallūr, deserves special mention here. It enumerates the remedial steps to contain the exodus of the people. It refers to a famine which occurred in the locality in the 13th year of this King, "as a consequence of which several families of Mativallạbha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, had to leave their village with intent to settle down elsewhere. Fearing that by this move their village would be speedily depleted, the families that still remained, convened a meeting of the *sabhā* and decided therein to redistribute the 24 shares into which the village had been originally divided with the express condition that no one could sell or barter the lands to any outsiders. It was decreed that the seller, the purchaser and the scribe who wrote the document relating thereto would not only forfeit the lands so disposed of, but would in addition be liable for a fine of 64 *kaḻāñju*. This prompt safeguard must have acted as a check against the tendency of the residents selling their property in the village and going out elsewhere. Another inscription[5] from the same village dated in the 12th year states that when the channel feeding the tank of the village got silted up, the assembly of Neṟkuṉṟam alias Vayiramēga-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam diverted to this tank a portion of the water from the *ūṟṟukkāl* (spring) irrigating the lands of two persons of the village Āndaḷi close by, presumably through a new channel dug in their lands and gave them some compensation therefore, probably in the shape of another piece of land".

Notes and References

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1900, No. 87 (Tiruvōttūr); *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 96; See text - A.p.4
2. *A.R.Ep.*, 1903, No. 30, See text B.Ins.P.4
3. *Ibid.*, 1901, No.276; *SII.*, Vol. VII, No.496
4. *Ibid.*, 1934-35, No. 151
5. *Ibid.*, No.152

4. A TAMIL INSCRIPTION FROM THE FORT FREDRICK TRINCOMALEE-SRI LANKA

N.Sethuraman

The holy Śiva shrine which once stood on the Trincomalee (Tamil Tirukkōṇa malai) mountain in Sri Lanka was one of the two hundred and seventy five sacred Śiva temples praised in the Tamil Tēvāram poems. Thirujñāna Sambandar who existed in the 7th century composed eleven hymns praising Lord Śiva who was pleased to be present at Tirukkōṇamalai (mountain) (Tēvāram 3-123). He says that those who recite and hear these verses will become great and they along with their relatives will go to the heaven (indicating the Kāyārōhaṇa philosophy of the Pāśupata Śaivite school). Sekilar the minister of the Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga II (1133-50) became a śaivite saint and in 1139 A.D. he wrote the great Tamil epic Periyapurāṇam - the story of the sixity three nāyaṉmārs. He beautifully describes how Tirujñana Sambandar praised in his hymns about Lord Śiva of Tirukkōṇamalai. Arunagirinathar who lived in the first half of the 15th century praised lord Muruga of this temple.

K.Indrapala has edited the Nilaveli inscription in the pages 64 to 69 in the James Thevathas Ratnam Felicitation volume (edition June 1975). The record is indited on a stone which is built into a temple structure and is now serving as part of the step of the *tīrtha* well at the entrance to the inner maṇḍapa of the Vināyaka temple at Nilaveli, north to Trincomalee. The photograph is also published. Indrapala correctly states that the record is in the characters of the 10th century. The object of the inscription is to grant certain lands for food offerings to the great God Matsyakēśvaram Uḍaiya Mahādēva at Tirukkōṇamalai in Kōṇaparvatam. The measurements and the boundaries of the lands are given. The record further states that these lands which belong to Kōṇamalai Nīlkaṇṭar (Śiva) should be under the protection of the Māhēśvaras. Indrapala opines that Maṭsyakēśvaram Uḍaiya Mahādēva was a different temple and not the main shrine. With due respect, I have to differ from the great scholar. We must note here that the lands gifted to Matsyakēśvaram Uḍaiya Mahādēva belong to Kōṇamalali Nīlakaṇṭar. This shows that the two names refer to the same God. Matsyakēśvaram called after the fish which was the first Avatāra of Lord Vishṇu - in view of the sea near the rocks was the name of the Dēvadāna temple and Tirukkōṇamalai was the place name of the mountain. If this understanding is correct, we may not be far wrong in surmising that the slab which contains this record was originally in the main shrine before its destruction. (We have a parallel example in Tamilnadu, see Sambandar *Tēvāram* 3-62. He praises the Lord of Tatakai Īśvaram in the village Tiruppanandal. Inscriptions of this temple state Lord of Tatakal Īśvaram a *Dēvadāna* in the *Brahmadēya* Tiruppanandal. Tataka in Sanskrit means Palmyra tree. Panadal in Tamil also means Palmyra tree. Even today the village is situated surrounded by Palmyra trees. The *Sthaḷa Vṛiksha* of the temple is also Palmyra tree.

In the beginning of the 16th century the Portuguese came to destroy the tem-

ples at Trincomalee. The Dutch captured the Kaḻani Malai Śiva temple which was situated south of Trincomalee. Visvanātha Nāyaka of Madurai drove out the invaders, established the rule of the Telugus and saved the temple from destruction. In 1620 Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore also defeated the Portuguese at Ceylon. However, the fate was otherwise. In 1624 the Portuguese general Constantino de Saa pulled down the golden temple and used the materials to build the Fort Frederick in its place. This was a severe blow to the culture and heritage of the great island. Since the old temple has gone, the people worshipped the mountain itself as Dskshiṇa Kailāśa, the abode of lord Śiva. The fort exists even today. After three hundred and forty years, a very big Śiva temple called Kōnēśvaram was built in 1964 on a different site in high mountains. The good old traditions, customs and the rich heritage were once again restored.

In this article attempt is made to prove how in the 16th century the Telugu Nāyaks of Madurai and Tanjore fought with the invading whites to protect the island and the Tirukkōṇamalai Śiva temple.

Subject

At the outset I would I would like to thank Mr.Theva Rajan, General Secretary, Thaninayakam Foundtaion Trust, Colombo Sri Lanka, whose letter dated 10th January 1994 promoted me to prepare this article. He sent to me many source materials and also the xerox copies of the pages 448 to 451 from the Jounral R.A.S.(Ceylon) Vol.XXX published in 1927. In these pages, H.W.Codrington wrote an article about the Tamil inscription at Fort Frederick, Trincomalee. The first four paragraphs of the article and the photograph of the inscription attract our attention. They are reproduced below:

"The legendary history of the great temple Kōnēśvara which once stood upon the promotary now occupied by Fort Frederick at Trincomalee, is given in the Kalveddu; a precis of this work appears in Brito's Vaipavamalai. The temple is said to have been founded by King Kulakkōdan, son of Manuvēntan, in the Kali Yuga year 512 (B.S.2590). It was destroyed by Constantino de Saa in 1964 and the materials used for the construction of fort.

On the right side of the main entrance to the existing fort is an inscription cut beneath two fish . On the left of the gateway immediately opposite appear two other fishes; the workmanship of these is much inferior to that of the first mentioned pair. The local tradition is that the inscription contains the folloing prophecy:-

The Portuguese shall take the holy edifice built by Kuḷakkōḍan in ancient times. Oh King hear ! *After the cat's-eyed one, the red-eyed one and the smoke/eyed one have gone,* the figure will be that of the Vaḍugar - (Telugus)".

About the identity of Kuḷakkōḍan, the renovator of the stone temple, the scholars in Śrī Laṅka differ. His existence either in the 11th century or in the 12th is proposed. I am not going to deal with this controversy. As far as we are concerned Kuḷakkōḍan existed prior to the date of this inscription. The inscription is damaged and the available portion was read by Codrington as follows:

Transliteration

(mu)ṉṉe Kuḷa
k(ō)ṭṭaṉ muṭṭu
(ti)ruppaṉiyai
ṉṉe paṟaṅgi
(k)kavē maṉṉā
ṉa poṉṉā
(sā)ṉa yiyaṟ(ṟu)
t(ē)vait
(ṉ)ṉā
..gaḷ

Codrington says, "the earliest mention of the inscription is in the Portuguese original of "Beschryving and Carten Eyland Ceylon" preserved at the RIJKS-ARCHIEF, The Hague, the letter-press of which dates from about 1627. The initial and final letters are missing owing to the stone having been cut. The first five lines of the inscription clearly agrees with the traditional prophecy. The remaining lines do not, since they are damaged. The Dutch and the Portuguese versions represent the above text."

The Ceylon literature Koneswar Kalvettu, a chaste Tamil poem written in the 16th century states thus[1].

"that while the sacred pujas by the brahmanas in the Kōṇaināthr Śiva temple were conducted for a long time, the Parakis (Portuguese) whose bodies shine like the tender mango leaves would come with the intention of destroying the great temple. South of Tirukkōṇamalai there was a mountain called Kaḻani malai on which stood a Śiva temple. That would be captured by Ulandar (Dutch). At that time the Ceylon Royal Family would shrink. After the shrinking of the royal family, the Vaḍugar (The Telugus) would rule Laṅkai (Śrī Laṅka). The Telugus would find that the parallel rule of the Ulanda King (Dutch) would be a hinderance to them and therefore the latter would be pushed down into the sea (would be driven out). With all happiness, after setting up the alternate rule, the Telugus would then worship the God in the Golden tremple of Kōṇaināthar".

Some people including the European scholars thought that it was a prediction written in the inscription and also in the poems about the coming of the Europeans. But none was able to explain the rule of the Telugus which would be established there.

A.H.Mirando wrote an article "The Konewaram Kovil and the Homeland Question in the Sri Lanka newspaper "The Island" magazine dated Tuesday the 4th January 1994. While referring to this inscription, he quoted the opinions of the previous shcolars who made research on this lithic record. The relevant passage of this article is reproduced as follows:

"H.Krishna Sastri, the Madras Government Epigraphist has recorded as follows:

The record may belong to the 16th century A.D. to judge from palaeography adding further that 'the pair of the fish' the emblem of the Pāṇḍyan Kings almost certainly is earlier in date than the 16th century by which time the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom had ceased to exit, perhaps they were carved in the 13th century when Pāṇḍyans came into contact with Ceylon and Trincomalee'. (Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Vol. No.80)

Godakumbura is of the view that the fish symbols have nothing in common with the inscription as an examination

of the inscription shows that it is a 16th century record inscribed on a stone which already had the Pandyan symbols.

S.Paranavitana states thus about this inscription: 'A fragmentary inscription engraved below the double fish on a stone now built into the gate of Fort Frederick in Trincomalee is also intrepreted as a prophecy and sometimes quoted to support the historicity of the prophecy given in the Yāḷpāṇa-vaipava-malai. This inscription actually contains the word 'Paṟaṅki' (Portuguese) but the record is in the 16th century script and was no doubt set up after the arrival of the Portuguese.

This inscription has been interpreted as a prophecy about hundred years after its date for it was so explained to Constantino de Saa, who destroyed the Trincomalee temple. But at that time the prophecy took into account the Portuguese. The Dutch and the English have come within the scope of the prophecy, In later times after these, nations played their part in the History of Trincomalee (Arya Kingdom in North Ceylon, Jounral of the Royal Asiatic Society Ceylon Branch Vol.vii New Series 1961, p.177, foot-note).

The problem which the scholars faced in interpreting this inscription is thus: The record is no doubt in the characters of the 16th century. (I am also convinced that it belongs to the 16th century when I saw the xerox copy). But the two fish emblem which belongs to the Pāṇḍya's gave trouble to the scholars. In the 16th century Pāṇḍyas were very weak and ruled a small area around Teṉkāśi in Tiruneveli District in Tami Nadu. They were under the protection of Vijayanagar rulers.[2] They could not have defeated the Portuguese or Dutch. Scholars could not explain the mention of the Telugus in the context of the then research and it was completely omitted as if unnoticed.

Let us see the inscription and the poem Koneswar Kalvettu from the side of the Tamil Nadu History. The two fish emblem, 16th century writing and the rule of the Telugus clearly suggest that some Telugu King or Nāyak who adopted the Pāṇḍyan fish emblem invaded Ceylon, drove out the European invaders and engraved this record. Who was that Telugu king? The discovery of a coin at Kuttālam in Tirunelvelli District answers this question. On the obverse of the coin the two fish emblem and above it the legend Pāṇḍyan are found. On the reverse the legend Viśvanāthaṉ is written.[3]

The legends are in the characters of the 16th century Tamil. The coin was issued by Viśvanātha, the Telugu Nāyak who ruled from 1510 to 1564. His capital was Madurai which was once the traditional capital of the glorious Pāṇḍyas who ruled from before the beginning of the christian era. Therefore it is obvious that Viśvānātha styled himself as a Tamil Pāṇḍyan King. Against this background if we once again look at the Fort Frederick Tamil inscription and the Ceylon Tamil poem Koneswar Kalvettu we can easily surmise that it was Viśvānātha Nāyaka the Telugu king who defeated the Portuguese and later the Dutch.

Kṛishṇadēvarāya, the Vijayanagar emperor ruled from 1504 to 1529. In 1510 he appointed Viśvanātha Nāyaka as Governor of Madurai and the latter ruled till 1564.

Two Inscriptions coming from Maniambalam and Kaṇḍīśvaram Uḍāiyarkōyil

Pudukkottai District, Tamil Nadu belong to Kṛishṇadēvarāya and they are dated 1511 and 1519 respectively.[4] In the records the emperor claims to have conquered elam and Yāḷāpāṇa. Achyutadēvarāya, his younger brother also participated in the campaign.[5] A record coming from Tirupattūr, Ramnad District, belongs to Achyutadēvarāya and it is dated 1535. It states that Achyuta made grants to the temple for the welfare of Viśvanātha and he was much concerned about the welfare of the Governor. Another record of Achyuta (1529-42) coming from Dēvikāpuram states that Achyuta conquered elam (Ceylon).[7] We have already seen that Viśvanātha, the Telugu Nāyak styled himself as a Tamil Pāṇḍya and adopted the two fish emblem. Kṛishṇappa Nāyak was the son of Viśwanātha. The Poem Singala Dvipa Catha states that Kṛishṇappa also invaded Ceylon.[8] About this campaign Satynatha Aiyar says.

"The Singhala Dvipa Catha gives a long account of Krishnappa Nayaka's conquest of Ceylon. It has a convincing appearnce of truth about it that it is highly probable that an expedition was undertaken. A brief summary of the chronicle may be given here. Krishnappa Nayaka was spoken of slightingly by the king of Kandi, a friend of Tumbichchi Nayaka, because of the latter's execution. Outraged at this, he called for the services of fifty-two of his Polegars with their troops, and embarked for Ceylon at Navapashana and landed at Mannar. A conciliatory message requiring homage and tribute was rejected by the King Kandi, who sent 40,000 men under four mantris (ministers) and eight desanathalu (governors) to arrest the progress of invaders. A sanguinary engagement took place at Puttalam, in which the Kandian army was defeated by Chinna Kesava Nayaka (the general who finally put down the rebellion of Tumbichchi Nayaka) with 20,000 troops and a few chiefs. Two ministers, five chieftains, and others were taken prisoners, and treated with much humanity and consideration by Krishnappa Nayak. The captives urged their king in vain to yield. The latter collected 60,000 troops and 10,000 Kaffirs (probably Portuguese), and marched at their head to the battle-field. A bloody struggle ensued in which 8,000 Kaffirs and many Sinhalese lost their lives. In spite of the best efforts of Krishappa Nayaka and his general, the king of Kandi was not captured alive. His dead body was taken with due honours to the capital. The deceased King's family was sent to Auramgam, the old capital of Ceylon, and treated in a fitting manner. After appointing his brother-in-law, Vijaya Gopala Nayaka, his viceroy in Ceylon, and arranging for the regular payment of tribute, Kriśhnappa Nayaka returned to Madura.

This account represents the Madura Nayak in the best light possible. It may have been written by one of the adherents of the Nayaks. It gives very elaborate details, and is very precise and sober, though some of its statements cannot be accepted without qualification. The cause of the invasion seems to have been the withholding of the usual tribute. This subordinate position of Ceylon with regard to Madura is intelligible in the light of the claims of the Vijayanagar emperors, Krishnadeva, Achyuta, and Sadasiva Rayas, to have conquered ceylon. According to the chronicle abstracted above; homage and tribute were

demanded even before actual fighting began; and in the end arragngements were made for the proper remittance of tribute."

These source materials when inserted into the framework of the then period give us a clear picture of the events and we may not be far wrong if we surmise as follows:

Kṛishṇadēvrāya and Achyutadēvarāya could have conducted two independent campaigns against Ceylon. These campaigns were under the command of Viśvanātha Nāyaka and he was the real hero who should have taken pains in driving out the Portuguese and later the Dutch and established the rule of the Telugus in Ceylon. Telugu king Raghunātha Nāyaka, the Vijayanagar Governor at Tanjore claims to have conquered Yāḻpāṇa and the Portuguese in 1620. This is confirmed by the Telugu poem Raghunāthādayam. This information also agrees with the Ceylon Tamil poem Koneswar Kalvettu which states that the Telugus would drive out the Protuguese and Dutch, establish their own rule and worship the God (Śiva) of the Golden Temple.[9] The Frederick Fort Inscription and the Koneswar Kalvettu Tamil Poem are not predictions. They are real events told in the form of prediction. The Portuguese again establihsed their rule in Trincomalee, pulled down the great Śiva temple and used the materials to built the Fort Frederick in 1624.

Viśvanānātha's campaign should have been conducted in the first and also in the second quarter of the 16th century. At that time the inscription was engraved and the poem was composed as predictions. The inscription mentions not only the Portuguese but also the whites cat's-eyed one, red-eyed one and smoke-eyed one who were naturally both Portuguese and the Dutch. Hundred years later in 1624 when the Portuguese read the inscription they thought that it was really a prophecy. Even today some scholars believe in the same way. Actually it is not a prediction. It tells the real events of the history in the form of a prediction.

I am once again thankful to Mr.Thev Rajan who was kind enough to send me necessary source materials collected in Sri Lanka.

Notes and References

1. Courtesy - Selvi K.Thangeswari, Mattakkalappu, Sri Lanka - Kulakkodan Dharisanam: page 37 - Koneswar Kalvettu, verses 45 and 46.
2. N.Sethuraman, *'The Later Pāṇḍyas'* - Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India, Vol.XX - 1994.
3. *Tamil Coins*, pp. 167-68 - Published by the Tamil Nadu State Government of Archaeology.
4. *Pudukkottai Inscriptions*, 730 & 732
5. *Ibid.*, Pd -743
6. *A.R.Ep.*, 1908, 113
7. *A.R.Ep.*, 1913, 123
8. R.Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayak's of Madura*, 1924, pp 70 and 71.
9. "The last kings of Kandy (Sri Lanka) were not Tamils from Cholamandalam for they are designated as Vaduga and Nayakars. The Nayakars were chieftains from the Vijayanagar kingdom of the Tungabhadra River". A.H.Mirando's article in "The Island" (Ceylon) magazine dated Tuesday, 4th January, 1994, page II, col.3, para 8.

5. AN INTERESTING INSCRIPTION FROM HIMACHAL PRADESH

B.N. Mukherjee

Recently I received from Dr. Rita Devi Sharma of the National Museum. (New Delhi) a photograph of an inscription engraved on rock in the locality of Parwanoo, situated about 1 km away from Simla (Himachal Pradesh). The rock, which is about 20-25 feet high is located near the Simla-Kalka Road.

The inscription, as I am informed, was noticed by Mr. Ramesh Chandra. Dr. Sharma and Mr. C.R.B. Lalit took its photograph in 1989. I am editing here the inscription with the help of the above noted photograph and with the kind permission of Dr. Sharma.

The inscription consists of three lines (Fig I). The first letter from the left side of line 1 is Brāhmī *pa* of *c.* 2nd century A.D. with the sign for medial *e.* The next character appears to be a Brāhmī *ya.* The next two letters are *cha,* with the sign of medial *ā,* and *ga.* The form of the last letter belongs to *c.* 1st or 2nd century A.D. The next three characters are'*u*, *sa* and'*u* of the Brāhmī alphabet.

The first three letters in the second line can be deciphered as *kha* with sign of medial *ā, ya* and '*i.* The fourth letter is blurred; but it may stand for *chā (cha + ā).* The last character of line 2 is not a Brāhmī letter. It seems to be Kharōshṭī *sa* with the sign of subscript *r.*

Again, while the first letter of the third line is Brāhmī *mā (ma + ā)*, the second is surely Kharōshṭī *na.* The third character is Kharōshṭī *ḍha.* The next three letters are in Brāhmī and can be read respectively as *gha, ḍhe (ḍha + e)* and *ya.* The last letter is Kharōsh ī *ma.* But, interestingly enough, the sign *anusvāra* touches the upper part of *ma.* Both the letters (one Kharōshṭī and another Brāhmī) serve the same purpose and perhaps this has been indicated by joining them.

The inscription as indicated above, is palaeographically datable to *c.* 2nd century A.D. It is written in a mixed script consisting of Kharōshṭī and Brāhmī letters. We have shown elsewhere that such a script was evolved in about the second half of the 1st century A.D. in ancient Vaṅga, which included lower West Bengal and coastal Bangladesh upto the Padma. We have also demonstrated that the use of the mixed script was introduced there by communities of traders hailing from the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent during the Kushāṇa age. They had constant contact with the north-west. As a result the mixed script was used also in the north-west, though very occasionally (by persons coming back from Vaṅga, where they had been habituated to use it). We have already published two Kharōshṭī-Brāhmī inscriptions, one engraved on a bowl and the other on a semi precious stone. Both the objects were found in the north-west (B.N. Mukherjee, Kharōshṭī and Kharōshṭī-Brāhmī Inscriptions in West Bengal (India), published as the *Indian Museum Bulletin,* Vol. XXV, Calcutta, 1990, pp. 10f; pl. XLVII, no. 8; pt. XLVIII, no. 18 a).

The inscription under review is the third Kharōshṭī-Brāhmī record reported

from the north-west. Since it is engraved on a rock, it must have been originally incised at the place of its present occurrence and not brought there from outside. This proves what has been already suggested, that the mixed script was atleast occasionally used in the north-west *(ibid).*, p.39, n. 89).

In the light of the above discussion we can now read the inscription in the following way.

1. *Peya-chāga - ‘usa‘u*
2. *Khāya‘ i (cha) śra*
3. *māṇa ḍhaghaḍheyam(ṁ)*

The text can be rendered in Sanskrit as *Preya-tyāga-autsūkyaiḥ śrameṇa cha dakshatā iyam.* The inscription may now be translated as follows.

“This ability (or competence) is (attainable) by (dint of) (various types of) of zeal (or eagerness) for giving up (or forsaking the beloved (or favourite) (ones or things) and by labour”.

The inscription seems to record a Buddhist maxim. Or at least it expresses a view of life which advocates for efforts to severe connections with worldly attachments.

6. DHARMASTHAḶA PLATES OF CHALUKYA VINAYĀDITYA

M.J. SHARMA

At the outset, I express my thankfulness to Sri Madhav N. Katti, Director (Epigraphy), Mysore for permitting me to present this paper which is on a copper plate grant noticed by me over a month ago at Dharmasthaḷa in South Kanara District. For this discovery, I have to thank Dr. P.N. Narasimhamurthy, Prof. of History, Bhuvanendra College, Karkame who led to Dharmasthaḷa as he had come to know that there are a number of unpublished copper plates in the possession of Hon'ble Dr. Virendra Heggade, kept in his 'Manjusha Museum' which houses an extraordinary collection of antiquities. I take this opportunity to aknowledge our thanks to Hon'ble Dr. Virendra Heggade, the Dharmādhikāri of Dharmasthala for kindly permitting us to copy these copper plate inscriptions, belonging to early, medieval and later periods and engraved in early Kannaḍa, Nāgarī, Grantha and Tamil scripts.[1]

The present copper grant, which is one of them, consists of 3 plates with letters engraved on the inner sides of the 1st and 3rd plates and on both sides of the 2nd plate. Due to wornout condition and thick encrustations, the writing in many of the lines is not clear.

The inscription which is in Sanskrit language and Telugu - Kannaḍa script is dated in Śaka 608 (i.e 686 A.D.) (*ashṭōttara-shaṭśatēśu- śaka-varshēshu*) and regnal year 6 of the Chalukya king Vinayāditya (*ātmanaḥ pravarddhāmāna-vijayarājya-saṁva[cha]rē shashṭē*).

The purport of the inscription is to record the grant of the village named Kiṟumuṇḍame, situated in the Eḍenāḍu-vishaya, to a number of *brāhmaṇas* (names given) belonging to different *gōtras* on the occasion of the installation of the golden *chaturmukha (...liṅgasya-sauvarṇa - chaturmukh-ārōpaṇa - samayē)* in the [Śiva] temple at the village. The gift was made during the victorious camp *(vijayaskandhāvārē)* at the request of the Āḷupa king Chitravāhana, son of Guṇasāgara, who is described as Pāṇḍya-paramēśvara, and also at the request of Kochcha-yuvarāja. The latter, a hitherto unknown prince, is described as Sagar-ānvaya-saṁbhūta, Chakōra-puravarēśvara, Dharma-yaśōdhana, as an ornament in the family (name not clear) which was well known in the Ī ḷa[vishaya]-maṇḍala of the eastern seas and as one whose valour was lauded by Pāṇḍya-paramēśvara Chitravāhana-mahārāja.

So far, three copper-plate grants referring to Chitravāhana and issued by Chalukya overlords were known. They are the Soraba plates[2] of 692 A.D. and the Harihar plates[3] of 694 A.D. of Vinayāditya and the Shiggaon plates[4] of Vijayāditya dated in 707 A.D. Since the present grant is dated in Śaka 608 i.e., 686 A.D., it may be considered as the earliest of the copper-plate grants referring to Chitravāhana, the Āḷupa king. Besides, the present grant, mentioning the 6th regnal year of king Vinayāditya as equivalent to Śaka 608 confirms the year of his accession to the Chalukya throne between 680-81 A.D.

This grant gives a lengthy eulogy of Chalukya Vinayāditya which occupies a

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major portion of the text and which is similar to the one given in the Soraba and Harihar plates mentioned above. The inscription refers to Maṅgalapura i.e., modern Mangalore and describes the region ruled by Āḷupa king Chitravāhana. It is already known from earlier records that Chitravāhana had married Kuṁkuma-mahādēvī, the daughter of Chalukya Vinayāditya and that he and his father Guṇasāgara as allies governed Kadamba-maṇḍala i.e., the Banavāsi province. Chitravāhana was also known to have ruled over Poṁbuchcha - modern Humcha region (Shimoga District) as recorded in the stone inscription from Kigga[5] (Koppa Taluk, Chikmagalur District). Eḍe-nāḍu-vishaya mentioned in this inscription must have been included under his rule.

The reference to Maṅgalapura and its context draws our attention. The relevant text portion in lines 21-22 reads: *Maṅgalapura - parigrah = āvāpt = Āḷup - āparakula - samākhyānāṁ Pāṇḍyānāṁ - advaā(nva)yam - alaṁkari[shṇōḥ]* - which may mean that the king, who was an ornament to the two well-related families of Āḷupa and Pāṇḍya, was returning after capturing Maṅgalapura. Since Maṅgalapura was already a part of the Āḷupa territory, the above incident must be understood as referring to the recapturing of that city after a temporary occupation by an outsider. In this context, interestingly enough, a Pāṇḍyan invasion of Maṅgalapura may be referred to here. The Vēḷvikkuḍi copper-plate grant of the third year of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (c.756-815 A.D.) states that his grandfather Kōchchaḍaiyan (c.700-30 A.D.) had attacked Maṅgalapura and destroyed the *mahārathas (Maṅgalapuram=eṉṉum mahānagaruṇ-mahāratharai eṟind=aḷittu).* 'Dr. K.V. Ramesh', in his book '*History of South Kanara*', after a long discussion differing from Saletore aptly places this incident in the period of Chitravāhana I and suggests that the battle of Maṅgalapura between Kōchchaḍaiaṉ on one side, and Chitravāhana I and the *mahārathas* on the other, might have been fought some time between 700 and 707 A.D. Now, if the reference to Maṅgalapura in the present record is considered to be the same as above, the year of the battle has to be Śaka 608 i.e., 686 A.D. or slightly before.

The reference to a certain Kochcha-yuvarāja above with several appellations is of significance and worthy of study, from the point of Āḷupa-Pāṇḍya relationship. Kōchchaḍaiyaṉ, the son of Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa also called as Raṇadhīra (a great warrior) bears titles like *Vāṇavaṉ, Śembiyaṉ, Śōḷaṉ* and Madurakarunāṭakan[7].

The Vēlā vikmuḍi grant[8] states that he, during his attack on the great city of Maṅgalapura, destroyed the Mahārathas and removed the word "common property" with reference to the country on the roaring sea. The country on the roaring sea may be safely identified with the region around Maṅgalapura. Chitravāhana's epithet *Pāṇḍya-paramēśvara*[9] and his adorning both the families, i.e. Pāṇḍya-Āḷupa indicate possibly, his equal claim to the throne of the Pāṇḍya, of Madura which might have become vacant after the battle of Maṅgalapura. The equal claim, borne out of the intimate relationship between the Pāṇḍya-Āḷupa line of South Kanara and the Pāṇḍyas of Madura, possibly might have had its biginning, as evidenced in *Periyapurāṇam*[10], with the induction of a

Karnaṭāka king (i.e., probably a prince of Pāṇḍya-Āḷupa line of South Kanara) on the throne of Madura when there was no Pāṇḍyan prince left to succeed after the fall of the Kalabharas. Further, the title 'Madurakaranāṭakan' given to Kōchchaḍaiyan̤ in the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates and the legend contained in the '*Grāma-paddati* of Tuḷuva' about Bhūtaḷa-Pāṇḍya may also have to be viewed in this context.

TEXT

Plate - I

1. Svasti [||] Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇōr=vvārārhaṁ kshōbhit-ārṇṇvaṁ dakshiṇ-ōnnata... ... ...*

2. sakala-bhuvaṇa-saṁsṭūyamāna - Mānavya- sagōtrāṇā[ṁ] Hārīti putrāṇāṁ sapta-lōka- mātṛibhis=sapta-mātṛibhir=abhi ... ...

3. putrāṇāṁ kārttikēya-parirakshaṇa-prāpta- kalyāṇa-paraṁparāṇām bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa- prasāda samāsādita varāha-lā ... ...

4. ṇa kshaṇa-vaśīkṛit-āśēsha mahībṛitā[ṁ] Chalukyānāṁ kulam alaṁka[ri]shṇōr = aśvamēdh = āvabhṛi[tha] šnāna- pavitri- kṛita- gātrasya

5. śrī Pulakēśi-Vallabha-mahārajāsya [sū]nu[ḥ] parākram- ākrānta Vanavāsy-ādi para-nirpati- maṇḍala praṇi-baddha-viśuddha-kiīrtti Kī*

6. rtti-varmma-pṛithiviviallabha - mahārājas-tasy-ātmaja samara-saṁsakta sakal=ōttarā pathēśvara-Śrī Harshava[rddhana] parāja

7. y-ōpa-labdha paramēśvar-apa[ra] nāmadhēyas- Satyāśraya- śripṛithvivallabha-mahārājādhirāja - paramēśvaras- tat- priya-sū*

8. tasya Vikramāditya - paramēśvara bhaṭṭā[ra]kasya mati-sāhāya-sāhasa - samadhigata - nija-vaṁśa-samuchita- chi-

9. ta-rājya-vibhavasya vividha - rasita - sita- samara- mukhagata- ripu- narapati Vijaya sam- upalabdha-kīrtti- patā-

Plate II - First side

10. k-āvabhāsita digantasya himakara kara - vimala kula paribhava vilaya-hētu ... ...

11. ñchīpura[sya] - prabhava-kuliśa - dalita Chōḷa - Pāṇḍya- Kēraḷa - dharaṇīdhara-tūya- māṇe mānaśyā ananya sam - avanata Kāñchīpati maṇi- makuṭa

12. kiraṇa-salil-ābhishikta Charaṇa ka [maḷasya] tri - samudra - madhya - vartti bhuvana - maṇḍal-ādhīśvarasya sūnuḥ piturājñayā

13. Bālē[ndu-śē]kharasy-ēva sēnānī [dai]tya- balam- ati- samuddata[ṁ] trairājya-[Pa]llava- balam- avashṭabhya [sa]ma[sta]-vishaya- praśa[ma]nād=vi[hi]-

14. ta ta[nmanō]rañjanaḥ atyan[ta]... ... yudhishṭhira iva śrī Rāma[vād]- Vāsu]dēva iva ṇripāṅku ... ...

15. tā ..... Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī pṛithvīvallabha- mahārājādhi[rāja] ... ...

16. .... viditam=astu vō=smābhiḥ ... ...

17. ... ... nā ā. la .. thā karṇa yaśō . ratu .. .. ,.. ... ...

18. ... ... pā ....

19. ... ... la ... ...

Plate II - Second side

20. .. pati nām=agaṇita= āśvamēdhā-prītānām- ...nā ... ... sā Pāṇḍyā ... ...

21. tānāṁ Maṅgalapura- parigrah- āvāpt-Ālup- āparakula-samākhyānāṁ Pāṇḍyānām-adva (nva)yam-alaṁkari[shṇō]rv=va ... ...

22. garam samētā[nirmaḷā] maryyādāṁ mēdinīm pālayitō Guṇasāgar= ātmajasya Chitravāhana-mahārājasya vijñāpaneyā

23. ashṭōttara - shadṭchhatēshu Śaka-varshēshv- atītēshu ātmanaḥ- pravarddhamāna Vijya-rājyasya saṁbarē (saṁvatsare) shashṭhē vartamānē[Vaijayanti]

24. [va]rttini - vijaya - skandhāvārē sāg - arākāra - pariṇata - mahōtsāham - ahita sagarānvaya saṁbhūtānāṁ Chakōrapura - varē[śva].

25. dharmma-yashōdhana-nāma=pū[rvva]-sāgarasa (syā)m- [Īḻavishaya]-maṇḍalādhipatya-janita- Kochchā[ḍ]ka-pra[thila]kula-samā[khyānāṁ]-

26. .. [dva]yaṁ-alaṃkarishṇōḥ Pāṇḍya - paramēśvarēṇa Chitravā[ha]na - mahārajēna saṁvadita - parākkramasya - samara - sāhasā[ṅkā]d-vijaya

27. śriyaṁ Kochcha-yuvarājasya vijñāpaneyā śilā-[dēva] ..liṁgasya sauvarṇa - chaturmukh= ārōpaṇa - samayē

- vaiśākhyā ṁ [pau]rṇamā-

28. [syāṁ] mātā - pitrōr-ātmanś cha-puṇyābhi vṛiddhayē ... gōtrāya . . . . svāminē Viśvāmitra - sa

29. gōtrāya . . . . . Mādhava - svāminē Gautama - sagōtrāya . . . . svāminē

PLATE -III

30. [Kau]śika-sagōtrāya . . . svāminē Viśvāmitra - sa[gōtrāya] . . . . sa[gōtrāya] . . .

31. . . . . Jamadagni-sagōtrāya Aṁṇa - svāminē . . . . sagōtrāya . .

32. . . . . . . bhyō Vēda - vādāṁga - pāragēbhyō Eḍenāḍu - vishayē Kiṛumuṇḍame-nāma grāmaṁ sa . . .

33. . . sahita sahiraṇy - ōdaka [sahitaṁ]-dattaḥ sīmā - pūrvva . . . .

34. to 38. Not clear.

Notes and References

1. These plates copied, by my colleague Sri S. Rajavelu, were included in *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1993 - 94.
2. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp.146 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 300 ff. and plates.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol.XXXII, pp.317.
5. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Kp.37.
6. K.V. Ramesh, *History of South Kanara*, p. 50-57.
7. K.A.N. Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p.P. 47-48.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol.XVII, p.307.
9. *'Paramēśvara'* an epithet of highest order was borne by Chalukya king Pulakēśin II.
10. The mention of a Karnataka king in Madura and the statement that there was no Pāṇḍya prince left to succeed the Madura throne when a Kaḷabhra king died was revealed through *Periyapurāṇam* - (See: K.A.N. Sastri *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 42-43, f.n.3.).
11. The culogy portion containing in lines 1- 14 is similar to that of Harihar Plate of Vinayāditya (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII, pp. 300 ff)
12. The word *chita* is redundant.

7. DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF VIJAYANAGARA INSCRIPTIONS IN KARNATAKA

C.S. Vasudevan

The political instability which prevailed in South India for sometime due to the Muslim invasions was effectively stabilized by the rulers of Vijayanagara empire from about the end of 14th century A.D. The Vijayanagara rulers, besides bringing the entire South India under a single umbrella, gave a new lease of life to the various developmental activities like temple building, temple renovation, agriculture, other socio-economic, philanthropic aspects, etc.

Despite the adverse political conditions the rulers paid due attention to various developmental activities and expanded their political boundary which was time and again expanded[1]. The limits of the empire[2] extended between Bay of Bengal in the east, Arabian sea in west, river Kṛishṇā in north and Kanyākumari in south, comprising the modern states of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and parts of Orissa. Their inscriptions are found scattered over the entire southern India and run to several thousands.[3]

The Vijayanagar empire blossomed, with Hampi as its nucleus, in the modern state of Karnataka with approximately 2,350 inscriptions[4] spread over, in varied numbers, in 19 districts. The density of inscriptions[5] is inconsistant and shows fluctuating tendency. The northern districts have fewer inscriptions, while the southern districts have large numbers of them. However, interestingly, some southern districts show comparatively lesser inscriptions when compared with the neigbouring districts. The reasons for this type of occurrence of Vijayanagara records may be many. An attempt is made in this paper to figure out such plausible reasons for this peculier phenomenon.

B.Subba Rao, in his work *The Personality of India,* gives a graphic picture as to how the cultural development, in space and time, was controlled by the geographic features of the individual regions[6]. Man's cultural development cannot be isolated, from the very environment in which he is put up or lived once, and then studied. Similarly, the presence of inscriptions in a given territorial division would have been influenced by various geographical factors. The demographic density also would have lead to the presence of larger number of records. An examination of the records of the Vijayanagara period confirms the above statement both in their numbers and their contents.

In this direction pioneering work has been done by Noboru Karashima *et al*[7], and Thomas R. Trautman[8], These scholars have done good work, but have not touched upon the geographic factors. Cynthia Talbot[9] has done a commendable work on Kākatīya Inscriptions. She classifies Andhra Pradesh into various zones based on the geo-physiographic features and relates the same to the presence of the number of records and also considers the internal evidence.

It is generally assumed by a number of scholars that the inscriptions of a particular dynasty centre around the nuclear region or capital city of the dynsty. It is

true upto some extent, and as an example we may refer to the high density of Chōḷa inscriptions in the nuclear Chōḷa region viz., Tañjāvūr. However, this is not the case with the Vijayanagara empire. Let us examine the reasons for the same.

The present state of Karnataka has some very interesting geographic features which include major river basins like Tuṅgabhadrā, Kṛishṇā, Kāvērī etc., a dense forest cover, Western ghats, plains, cultivable lands and, last but not least, the monsoon rainfall[10]. All these features would have excercised their direct influence on the occurrence or abscence of epigraphs. It is not a new feature, that in the ancient past, major civilizations and agricultural communities settled down on the river basins of India, since the Chalcolithic and Neolithic period, like Indus, Ganges, Narmadā, Gōdāvarī, Kṛishṇā, Tāpi, Kāvērī, etc. The minor river basins played their own significant role in the survival of different cultural entitites. Subba Rao has put forth a very convincing argument that river basins of the country with a rainfall of between 20"(508 mm) and 40"(1016 mm) sustain the agricultural communities in large numbers. The rains were the main source for the agricultural activities, though in India it was river based, as the rain-fed rivers supplied water for irrigational purposes upto a limited area in the basin. Even to this day, in India, large tracts of land are irrigated with the help of annual rainfall only.

Here, in this paper, one of the geographical factors viz., rainfall[11] is taken into account as the main factor and other factor like physiography, geological, political and internal evidence, etc., are considered as supplementary factors. A glance at the table on page no 35 above shows that there is a direct relation between the average total annual rainfall and the density of inscriptions found in the districts of Karnataka. A closer scrutiny of the table shows that the maximum number of inscriptions is found in such of the districts[12] where the average annual rainfall is between 600 mm and 1000mm. In these districts the minimum number of inscriptions found is 150. This also attests to the theory putforth by Subba Rao, who advocated that the agricultural communities were able to sustain themselves in the river basins where the average rainfall was between 20"(508 mm) and 40"(1016 mm). It is to be observed here that, when the average rainfall is less than 600mm, or more than 1000 mm, the number of inscriptions found in the districts varies. The northern districts like Bijapur, Bidar, Gulbarga and Belgaum have a few inscriptions despite the fact that the district have significant and sufficient rainfall. The reason being that, this area was not under the active political control of the empire. Similarly as an exception, to the above proposed theory, the South Kanara district has the highest number of inscriptions, where the average rainfall is quite high. At the same time, the Coorg district has only one record, though this district is situated contiguously with South Kanara district. In order to understand this type of peculier phenomenon the internal evidences have to be considered.

The geographical, physiographic features and nature of Vijayanagara inscriptions of the individual districts are discussed in brief.

Bellary - The records found in this district are meticulously drafted. In this district, the capital city of the empire viz., Hampi is located. Here one notices that the records are well drafted and all types of transcations finds place in the epigraphs. The Kannaḍa script and language have been profusely used.

Shimoga - In this region, land and village grants were given to individuals. Only a few such grants were given to the temples. Due to the proximity of the region to the capital, sale deeds could be noticed and relatively large areas of fertile lands are available. This district has maximum area of forest cover. Interestingly a number of tax terms are found mentioned in the records. The records are drated meticulously and language becomes 'tough' or chaste. Kannaḍa, Sanskrit in Kannaḍa and Nāgarī script are used. Herostones are more in this district.

Chitradurga - This is a dry region when compared with other zones and found south of Tuṅgabhadrā river. More number of village grants are noticed. This region is geologically important as it has many rocky hills. The remission of taxes on barber community is noticed in a good number of records. Kannaḍa is the main script and language used and it becomes simple.

Bangalore - This district is more hospitable and one can notice the assorted nature of records. Village and land grants are recorded. Land grant is given more to the individuals. Script and language show combinations. The script and language used are Tamil, Grantha, Kannaḍa, Nāgarī and Telugu. In this region, more plain lands are available which is suitable for cultivation. This region lies in a strategic position which abutts three states.

Kolar - In this district, the characters of the record exhibit the same as that of Bangalore district. More Tamil territorial divisions, administrative divisions are found mentioned. The various scripts used are Grantha, Telugu, Kannaḍa and Tamil.

Mysore - Assorted nature of inscriptions are noticed like village and land-grants. The physiography of the region is plain, river Kāvērī flows in this district and vast tracts of lands are available for cultivation. Ancient trade route can be traced in this distrcit. This is attested to by the numerous records left behind by the mercantile communities. The language becomes more simplified which is akin to the one used by common man.

South Kanara - This district has the maximum number of records and the maximum rainfall is recorded in this region. This district offers a varied physiography, besides having dense forest, it has plain lands also. This district has a pretty long sea coast and has many harbours which would have served even during the ancient past. In the records one can notice the mention of the forest produce like arecanut, spices, coconut, etc., being given to the temple or to the individual. The cash crops are mentioned in the epigraphs. Another major reason could be that, Śriṅgēri is located in this region, which was held in high esteem and venerated by the Vijayanagara ruler as the royal pontiff was stationed here. Hence this region saw a brisk economic activity through out the existence of the empire.

North Kanara - This region shows

similar trends of the South Kanara district.

Coorg - This region is completely covered with hills and dense forest cover could be noticed. The cultivable lands available are meagre.

Tumkur - This is relatively being dry. The records are simpler in nature. Hero-stones and *Sati* stones are noticed. The village grants as well as land grants are fewer in number. Only a few tax terms are mentioned. Remission of marriage tax figures in most of the records.

Northern districts - Since the districts, already mentioned, fall out of the active political activity of the empire and therefore the activity is to the minimal extent.

This study shows that the distribution of inscriptions in a given area is directly related to the environment or geographical condition. The internal evidence also points to the economic prosperity of the region and invariably is also related directly to the environment. The identification of the economic zones with the help of the geographical conditions is possible, if all the geo-physiographic features are considered. The distribution pattern when studied in the light of the geographic conditions helps in the identification of the economic zones, demographic density and other important activities of the dynasty.

TABLE

Name of the District	Average Annual Rainfall* (in mm)	No.of Inscriptions
Gulbarga	729.7	0
Bidar	905.7	1
Coorg	3,265.4	1
Belgaum	1,303.2	3
Bijapur	520.5	4
Raichur	661.3	50
Dharwar	813.3	72
North Kanara	3,010.0	100
Mandya	688.5	114
Chitradurga	638.1	115
Hassan	1,040.7	127
Tumkur	687.9	142
Bellary	519.9	153
Chikmagalur	921.8	165
Shimoga	1,526.5	166
Mysore	809.0	225
Kolar	711.4	238
Bangalore	888.9	277
South Kanara	3,397.0	307

*This information is based on the *Karnataka Gazetteer*, p.205.

Notes and References

1. A.V. Venkata Ratnam, *Local Self Government in the Vijayanagara Empire*, p.8
2. During the time of Dēvarāya II, the Vijayanagara empire extended beyond India. See A.V. Venkata Ratnam, *Op cit.*, p.8
3. The information is based on the *Epigraphia Carnatica, Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy, Mysore Archaeological Reports, Hyderabad Archaeological Series;* Several inscriptions are to be purlished.
4. The number of available inscriptions given is tentative. Their number is bound to increase in future.
5. The word inscription here connotes epigraphs on stone, metal and manuscripts.

6. B. Subba Rao, *The Personality of India*, p.6.
7. Noboru Karashima *et al, A List of the Tamil Inscriptions of the Chōḷa dynasty.*
8. Thomas R. Trautman, "Prospects for the study of Inscriptions on an All India Scale", Paper presented at the Workshop on Socio-Economic Terms of Inscriptions, Mysore, 1989.
9. Cynthia Talbot, "Temples, Donors and Gifts: Patterns of Patronage in Thirteenth Century South India", *The Journal of Asian Studies,* 50, No.2, (May 1991), pp.308 - 40.
10. Karnataka records the highest rainfall in South India.
11. The climate between 14th and 17th century A.D. was almost similar to that of the present one. This opinion was expressed by Dr.S.N. Rajaguru, Pune, through personal communication.
12. The districts are Bellary, Chikamagalur, Shimoga, Mysore, Kolar, Bangalore and South Kanara.

8. EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE ABOUT REPAIRS TO ANCIENT EDIFICES

Madhav N. Katti

India can boast of hundreds of monuments of architectural importance built during the last two *millenia.* The monuments can be broadly classified as religious and secular. The first category includes temples, *vihāras*, *basadis*, churches, mosques, monastries etc., while the second category includes palaces, mansions, educational institutions, offices, libraries and the like. These edifices formed the epi-centres of socio-cultural activities of the period. In addition to this, we have also a number of hero stone and *sati* stone inscriptions and the memorial epitaphs. Many of them stand as a testimony to the architectural and sculptural excellence of the period and provide evidence for various facets of life of the bye-gone days. It is needless to emphasise here that it is the responsibility of both the Government and people to preserve this rich cultural heritage which represents the noblest representations of human mind. The ruling dynasties, feudatory families, the elite and persons haiting from the common *strata* of society were all responsible for the erection of these edifices. The temples and *basadis* formed the main hub of the cultural activities of the period and the people at large drew inspiration from these institutions. Epigraphs are replete with evidences where persons who were responsible for the erection of these magnificient and awe-inspring buildings, also made munificent donations in the form of land grants and gifted large amount of money, cattle, oil-mills, and other objects needed for the maintenance of these religio-cultural institutions, where the daily schedule included the worship of the deities installed therein, feeding of the teachers, ascetics and students residing in them and for the purpose of repairs and renovations of these structures so that they could be preserved to posterity.

In the inscriptions, we frequently come across the verse which states that a person who preserves the cultural heritage will gain greater merit than the one who caused the original construction of the temples and other socio-cultural centres.

dāna-pālanayr = madhyē dānāt śrēy-ōnupālanaṁ | *Dānat- svargam=avāpnōti pālanād= Achyutaṃ padam* ||

This verse occurs in hundreds of inscriptions and reminds the people of their responsibility towards preserving the temples and the grants made over to them etc. The verse states that a person who protects the temple and the grant would attain *Achyutaṁ padaṁ* i.e., Vaikuṇtha which is supposed to be the highest celestial world where a person gets eternal bliss, whereas the original builder (and donor) was eligible to attain only heaven[1]. It is also stated in many of the inscriptions that a person who renovates dilapidated structures like tanks, wells, etc., would be eligible for the merit of the original builder[2].

Vāpī-kūpa - taṭākānāṁ bhinnānāṁ daiva-vē śmanāṁ| *Punaskārasya kartus= cha labhatē maulikām padam* ||

Persons like Manu, Vēdavyāsa and Rāma are credited with the authorship of such benedictory verses which promul-

gate the need for preserving cultural heritage.

We come across some very interesting terms in the inscriptions which indicate different types of repairs and renovations to be carried out to the monuments from time to time.

Khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-jīrṇōddhār, khaṇḍa-sphuṭita- navakarma, sphuṭa-nirākaraṇa, nava-sudhākarma, sode-suna; taru-gulma-nirmalīkaraṇā, are some of the terms which are of oft occurence. Before proceeding further, I will highlight about their significance.

1. *Khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-jīṇōddhāra* : repairing the monuments (including renovation) in respect of the portions which are damaged and mutilated (*khaṇḍa)* and which have developed various types of accretions (*sphuṭita* - developing soot due to the application of oil, growth of moss, lichen etc.).

2. *Khannḍa - sphuṭita-navakarma* : repairing and renovating the portions which are mutilated and which have developed various types of accretions, and adding to them a new or fresh look or a more artistic splendour. *Navakarma* may also be taken as addition of new parts to the monuments as was done by the suceeding generations in many cases.

3. *Sphuṭa-nirākaraṇa̱* : removing the accretions. The word '*sphuṭa, sphuṭita*' may also be taken to mean bulged and out of plumb portions in which case it would indicate setting right such a portion (i.e. removing the bulged or out of plumb portions and bringing the monument back to its original shape).

4. *Nava-sudhākarma* : Applying new white colour (white-washing).

5. *Sode-suṇṇa̱* : White-washing by lime (*sode* meaning white derived from *sudhā and suṇṇa* meaning lime).

6. *Taru-gulma-nirmalīkarṇa* : Removing the unwieldy growth of vegetation around the monument (i.e. clearing of the trees, plants, bushes etc. jungle clearance).

It is also interesting to note here that there are a number of inscriptional evidences indicating that there were various classified officials and men who participated in the designing, construction, sculpturing and engraving (of the inscriptions etc.) in connection with the erection of an edifice, as we come across the words like *Viśvakarmā* (engineer who planned and supervised the entire construction), *śilpī* (Sculptor), *rūvāri* (sculptor and an artist who participated in the execution of various decorative motifs) and *vōja* (who engraved inscriptions. Usually this word is suffixed to the personal name, as is clear from the names like Singōja, Mallōja etc.). Names of the sculptors and engravers are quite often met with on the walls of the monuments or below the sculptures. Different components of the structures were fashioned as per prescribed designs and order, which are indicated by the numbers of such components engraved on them indicating where they are to be fitted. The engineers strictly followed the traditional texts on architecture. Many kings themselves had the knowledge of these texts. It is interesting to note that Chāḷukya Sōmēśvara III, son of Vikramāditya VI, who ruled from 1126 to 1138 A.D. is also referred to in inscription as *Sarvajña-Chakravarti*, well-versed in various fields of knowledge. *Mānasōllōsa* or *Abhilāshitārtha-chintāmaṇi* the encylopaedic work, written by him and available to us even to

this date, stands as a testimony to the multi-facetted genius of Sōmēśvara. This work contains vivid discussions on various arts and sciences including engineering, architecture, sculpture etc.

I am now going to highlight about some important inscriptions which provide significant evidence about the erection of various types of monuments and provisions made by the *regalia*, the elite and the common man for their repairs and renovations.

The sand stone pillar inscription[3] discovered on the bank of Nigali Sāgar in Nepal Terai which belongs to the 14th regnal year of emperor Aśōka states that the king referred to in the epigraph as *Dēvānaṁ piya Piyadesi rāja* (i.e. *Dēvānāṁ priya Priyadarśi rājā*), enlarged the *stūpa* of Buddha *Kōnākamana* to the double of its original size. He again visited the place during his 20th regnal year, worshipped this *stūpa* and set up the inscribed stone-pillar. This inscription which is in Prākrit language and Brāhmī characters of the 3rd century B.C. is one of the earliest ephigraphs referring to the constructional activity where the original structure was enlarged.

The Junāgaḍh inscription[4] of Rudradāman, datable to about 150 A.D., describes how the unique type of tank Sudarshana-taṭāka was damaged due to ravages of time and was got repaired by king Rudradāman, who brought it into use. The inscription states that the tank, after repairs, regained its beauty, thus justifying its appellation *sudarshanatā-ṭaka.* The inscription also states that the water out-lets from the tank were repaired so that the water could be used for irrigation and drinking purposes.

A copper plate charter[5] from Khoh District referring itself to the reign of *Mahārāja* Jayanātha and dated 496-97 A.D., records a grant made to some *brāhmaṇās* of the village Dhavashaṇḍikā, for the purpose of repairs (*khaṇḍa-sphuṭita)* in the temple of god Vishṇu.

A copper plate charter[6] from Bāgh (Madhya Pradesh), referring itself to the reign of *mahārāja* Subhandu, assignable to the 5th century A.D., registers the grant of a village in the vicinity of Dāsilapalli, for various purposes, which include the repairing of the dilapidated portions of the Buddha-vihāra (*bhagna-sphuṭita-saṅskaraṇārtham.* The revenue from this village was attached to the *vihāra* for its maintenance.

A rock-cliff inscription[7] dated Śaka 465 (543 A.D.) from Bādāmi, Bijapur district, Karnataka, states that the fort of Vātāpi was strengthened both from bottom and top by the king Pulikēśin I (*adhasthād = uparishṭ āch durgam-ētat-achīkarat*).

An inscription[8] from Aḍūr (Dharwar district) belonging to the reign of Kīrtivaraman II (8th century A.D.), the last king of same dynasty registers grant of land for the upkeep and the maintenance etc., of the *jinālaya* and *dānaśālāti-saṁvriddhayai)*, constructed by a *gāmuṇḍa.* It also registers a grant of wet land for the same Jaina temple (referred to as *jina-bhavana* and states that both the lands were measured by *rājamāna* (royal measurement).

A record[9] of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I, from Tiruvāḍuturai in Thanjavur district, dated in his thirty-eighth year (944-45. A.D.) states that the king visited the place and after seeing the construction of temple in progress, gave 500 *kaḷañju* of gold for the completion.

An inscription from Lakshmīśvara[10] (Dharwar district), belonging to the rule of Gaṅga Mārasiṃha and dated 971 A.D. refers to the *khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-navakarma* to be executed in the *basadi* where the inscription is found.

An inscription from Chandrēhi[11] (Rewad District of Madhya Pradesh), mentions the Śaiva ascetic Prabōdhaśiva. The record which is dated in Kalachuri year 724 (973 A.D.), states that on account the devotion to his preceptor, Prabōdhaśiva caused the well to be rebuilt with a wonderful masonry of large stones and then re-excavated the well deep. The well is stated to have been originally dug by his illustrious preceptor, Praśāntaśiva, at this place, but it had become dilapidated and was full of wooden fragments which had fallen into it in course of time.

Srīmat Praśantaśiva- kāritam = atra kūpaṁ kālēna śīrṇa-patit= ākhila-dāru-rūpaṁ|
Bhaktyā gurōr-guru-śilā-rachanā-vichitraṁ
Sōchīkarattad-anu dūram=achikhanach=cha ||

Inscriptions of Parakēsarivarman and Rājakēsarivarman from Tirukkoḍikāval[12] (Tanjavur district) in Tamil language and script of about the 10th century A.D., refer to the reconstruction of its *śrī-vimāna* with stone and re-engraving of the inscriptions that lay scattered in the area (*idu-paḷaiya-kal-paḍi inda śrī-vimānattile ēṟa veṭṭina maiyil munn-iv-vāchakam*
vettikkiḍanda taṇik-kallāl upayōga millāmaiyil adu tavirndadu)

Prehaps, the name of *Dānachintāmaṇi* Attiyabbe is too well-known to the students of Karnataka history and culture to need any introduction. It is sufficient to underline here that an epigraph from Lakkuṇḍi[13] Dharwar district) belonging to the reign of Irivabeḍaṅga-Satyāśraya and dated 1007 A.D., provides a unique evidence of how the pious lady, Attiyabbe wife of Nāgadēva, a subordinate of the emperor, caused the construction of as many as one thousand and five hundred (*sāsirad-aynūru*) *basadis* in different parts of the kingdom and later built the Brahma- jinālaya and made munificient grants for the purpose of worship, perpetual lamp, etc. in the same. This important evidence is also corroborated by the contemporary literary works. The poet-laureate of the period, Ranna also states in his works *Ajitanāthapurāṇa* and *Gadāyuddha* that this lady Attiyabbe (mentioned also as Attimabbe), at whose instance he composed the first of the works referred to above, installed one and half thousand Jaina images, made pious gifts and acquired the title *dāna-chintāmaṇi.*

An inscription from Pañchalingāla[14] (Kurnool District), which belongs to the reign of Chāḷukya Bhuvanaikamalladēva (Somēśvara II) and is dated 1068 A.D., states that the king having started on a campaign of conquest, while camping at *Rāmēśvara-tīrtha* in Appayyaṇa-viḍu, north of the Krishṇaveṇṇā in Kandūru-nāḍu, entrusted some lands into the hands of Kāsmira-panḍitadēva, the *sthānapati* of Pañchaliṅgāla, for the annual *repairs* and *upkeep* of the *temples.*

Another inscription[15] of the same ruler dated Śaka 996 (1074 A.D.) registers a number of gifts on the occasion of lunar eclipse, for various purposes including repairs and renovation *khaṇḍa-sputita -navakarma.* As the inscription is damaged, the name of the diety cannot be made out, though the fact that the in-

scribed slab is found set up in front of the temple of Narāyaṇadēva leaves no doubt that the deity was Nārāyaṇa only.

An inscription from Koṇḍuguḷi[16] (Bijapur District) which belongs to the reign of Chāḷukya Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) and is dated 1107 A.D., registers grants for various purposes which include the *jīrṇōddhara* of the temple of *Jōtīśvaradēva.*

An inscription from Bairampalli[17] (Warangal District), referring itself to the 32nd regnal year (1107-08 A.D.) of the same king (i.e. Chāḷukya Tribhuvanamalladēva), records the consecration of the Jaina image in the *basadi* at the place and registers gifts of a mango-garden and 20 *mattars* of land for the purpose of renovation of the *basadi* and feeding of the ascetics, by Bāramā-reddi, the *daṇḍanāyaka* of Bhuvanagiri and the *karṇam* of Bekkallu, after laving the feet of Sēnabeṭṭadēva.

An inscription[18] from Pūḍūr (Mahbubnagar District) belonging to the reign of Chāḷukya Vikramāditya VI refers to his feudatory *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Pallavarasa as *āgama-śāstra-pravīṇa.* The inscription states that he caused the construction of a beautiful *sarvatōbhadra* type *jinālaya* in the village and made munificent grants for its protection and maintenance. The *jinālaya* is referred to in the record as Tārgaṇādhīpaprabha (i.e. Chandraprabha) jinālaya.

An inscription from Chāmarājanagar[19] (Mysore District) referred itself to the reign of Hoysaḷa Vishṇuvardhana and dated Śaka 1039 (1116 A.D.) registers grants of lands and oil from oil mills, to Trikūṭabasadi named Puṇisa-jinālaya, caused to be constructed by Puṇisarāja-*daṇḍādhipa.* The grants were made by the chief himself evidently for the purpose of worship, upkeep and maintenance of the *jinalaya.*

An epigraph[20] of the time of Kaḷachurya Bijjala and dated Śaka 1080 (1158 A.D.) records the renewal by the king of the gift of the village Nāgahura, formerly bestowed by Jagadēkamalla II of the Kalyāṇa Chāḷukya family, for the purpose of worship and offerings in the temple *(dēvaraṅgabhōga, nandādīvige, nivēdya, tapōdhanara chhāttrar = asan-āchchhādana* and *dēgulada maṭhada khaṇḍasphuṭita-navakarma).* We have many such examples where a later ruler renovated the edifice of an earlier period and made over grants for various purpose including repairs and renovations to the same.

An epigraph[21] from Tambūru (Dharwar District), dated in Śaka 1091 (1169 A.D.) refers to the grant of tax-income to a *jaina-chhatra* of Padumaladēvi. This indicates that Padumaladēvi had either caused the construction of this *chhatra* or that it was named after her. I have shown elsewhere that this Padumaladēvi was a Kadamba queen.

A record[22] belonging to the reign of Kaḷachurya Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva and dated Śaka 1097 (1174 A.D.), registers a number of gifts made for various purposes like *aṅgabhōga, raṅga-bhōga* and *khaṇḍasphuṭita-jirṇōddhāra* in the temple of Kadaṁbēsvaradēva by *mahāmaṇḍalesvara* Pāṇḍyadēvarasa of the Kadamba family and by *kumara* Haḍavaḷa-Chāuṇḍarasa. The record further describes the temple as a great landmark of glory in the Kadamba kingdom *(Kadaṁba-rājya - Lakshmī - bhavankk - adhisṭhāna),* indicating thereby the prime role the temple played in the affairs of the Kadamba

kingdom. It is interesting to recall here that the Madhukēśvara temple at Banavāsi (North Kanara District) played a very important role during the reign period of the Kadamba kings for more than half a century. The kadamba monarchs refer themselves as the ardent devotees of this deity (*Vaijayantī-Madhukēśvaradēva-labdha-vara-parasāda*, etc.).

An inscription[23] belonging to the reign of Chāḷukya Sōmēśvara IV, and dated Śaka 1118 (1195 A.D.) refers to some interesting grants made on the occasion of solar eclipse, to the deity Rāmanāthadēva, by *mahāpasāyita* Bāgagāvuṇḍa, described as the right hand *(balada-kai)* of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Chaṭṭa-nṛipa. The grants include lands, a flower garden, betel-nut garden, one boat *Jalagina-dṇi*), one measure of corn,five house-sites and a house of oil-mill. The grants were made for the purpose of workship, offerings, feeding of the ascetics in and repairs *(jīrṇōddhāra)* to the temple. The recipient of the grant was Kēdara-paṇḍitadēva. The epigraph also adds that the person who protects these grants would attain the merit of donating thousand cows at Vāraṇāsi, to the *brahmaṇas* who are *Vēda-pāragas.*

An inscription[24] from Nattamāṅguḍi (Trichy District), dated in the 38th regnal year of Chōḷa Kulōttuṅga III (1215 A.D.), states that the old *jagatī* was demolished and rebuilt and in that process the local authorities ordered the re-engraving of the inscriptions found on the old *erv's jagati-ppaḍai*, on the new *jagati-ppaḍai.* This is an important reference regarding the re-engraving of the inscriptions after re-building the structure. The record throws a valuable light on preserving the original historical documents to posterity, by once again getting them emgraved.

A record[25] from the Chandramauḷīśvara temple at Yātavākili (Chittoor District) belonging to the reign of Chōḷa Rājarāja (III) and dated (1244 A.D.), refers to the renovation of the temple of Irugīśvara, from out of the funds collected from the public by Śelvagaṅga, a descendant of Kumbhaṉ-gāmunḍaṉ, who formerly constructed the temple *(Kōyil-panḍu-eḍupitta Kumbhan-gāmuṇḍaṉ- makkaḷ Selvagaṅgaṉ-podu-koṇḍu pudukkiṇār).*

An inscription[26] from Kōnakāñchi (Krishna District) palaeographically assignable to 13th century A.D., states that while Pōtarāja was ruling the Nāthavāḍi country, Karremu-seṭṭi and Kuṛivi-śeṭṭi, son's of Appi-seṭṭi, installed the images of Nārāyaṇadēva and Brahmadēva and got the temples of Narēndrēśvara and *parivāra-dēvatas* plastered.

An epigraph[27] from Vēlpura (Guntur District), dated Śaka 1295 (1373-74 A.D.), states that Vemāmbikā, wife of Nalla-Nūṅka had the temple of Rāmanātha plastered with lime, and also put up a gold *kalaśa* on the top of the temple, besides making other gifts on the occasion.

A record[28] from Palagurāḷḷapalli (Cuddapah District) belonging to the reign of Vīra-Dēvarāya-oḍeya and dated 1396 A.D. states that Gōli-Avubhaḷanātha repaired the temple of Bhairavadēva on the hill and built a circumbulatory passage and a wall around it, while Lakkayadēva-*maharāja* and Allādēva- *mahārāja* who ruled over the area, granted some lands near the hill for raising a grove for the

maintenance of the temple.

An inscription[29] from Nāgenahaḷḷi (Bellary District), belonging to the reign of the most glorious Vijayanagara emperor Kṛishṇadēvarāya and dated 1516 A.D., records that Raṅganātha-dīkshita of Jamadagnya-gōtra, Aśvalayana-sūtra and Ṛigvēda and the *purōhita* of the king, received a *mānya* village from the king and caused the construction of a tank called Nāga-samudra after the name of Nāgaladēvi, the mother of the king and of the temples of Nāgēśvara and Nāgēndraśayana in the village. He converted the village as an *agrahāra* giving it the name Nāgadēvapura and donated lands to *brāhmaṇas.* The inscription further stipulates that the daily worship should be carried on in the temples for ever *(āchandrārka).* The record provides an important evidence about the construction of tanks during the late medieval period.

An inscription[30] from Gōraṇṭla (Anantapur District) belonging to the reign of Tirumaladēva and dated 1524 A.D., records that Subraparāja the *kāryakartā* of Vākiti-Adeppanāyaniṅgāru, orders the repairs to the dilapidated temple of Sōmēśvara and construction of a mud wall for it.

A record[31] from Teḷḷapāḍu (Cuddapah District) refers itself to the reign of Sadāśivarāya. Dated Śaka 1472 (1550 A.D.), it registers a grant of land as *dasavanda* made by Pedda - Vōbuḷnāyiṅgāru, son of *Mahā-nāyaṅkāchārya* Voṇṇam-Ādināyuḍu to three persons who repaired the breaches and re-built the bund of the tank Teḷḷapāḍu, the findspot of the record.

An inscription[32] from Rāyachōṭi (same district) belonging to the reign of the same king, dated 1563 A.D., records that Puchchalapāṭi-Rāmayya, the *mudrā* officer under Amarināya-Veṅgaḷamāyaṁgāru, the *kārya-kartā* of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Jillēḷa Raṅgapati-rājayyadēva-*mahārāja*, had the central shrine and *śukhanāsi* of god Virēśvara of Rāchaviḍu repaired. It is said that the donor held the *pārupatya* of Rāmadurga-sīmā.

An epigraph[33] from Śriśailam (Kurnool District), belonging to the reign of Tirumala, dated 1574 A.D. states that Dantikaṇṭi-Lingappaṇṇa, the *kāryakartā* of Rāmarāyajjadēva-mahārāja, son of Tirumaladēva-mahārāja, having repaired the bund across (the river) Bhōgavatī to the west of the *prākāra* of the Mallikārjuna temple, at the command of his preceptor Vīraśva-Śāntabhikshāvṛitti-ayya, for the merit of his teachers and parents, had the goddess Bhōgavati consecrated on the tank - bund by Savaram Basvappa.

A record[34] from Isukatinnapalli (Chittoor District), dated 1614 (1692 A.D.), registers the terms offered to some persons for repairing the irrigational tank, at Baśvinakoṇḍa, which had developed breaches.

An inscription[35] from Daśāvatāra shrine at Śrīraṅgam (Trichy District), dated Śaka 1619 (1697 A.D), records the periodical renovations to be carried out by Nārāyaṇa-jīyar and specifies the amount allotted for the *śiruṇōddhāraṇam* in the shrine of Tirumaṅgai-Āḷvār. The various parts like *tirugōpuravāśal* (entrance gateway), *tiruniali-kāl* (door jamb, *melpatti* (upper beam), *agavaṇai-mugavaṇaī* (inner and outer facades) and *uttaram* (cross beam) were taken up for renovation by the jīyar *(tiruggōpuravāsal*

- *tirunilai - kāl - mēlppaṭṭi - agavaṇai - mugavaṇai - uttaram - mlpaṛappum - āga śiruṇōd - dhāraṇattukku cheṉṛadu).* The other renovations referred to in the record are in respect of the structures like entrance to the shrine, the outer *maṭha* where the *jīyar* resided, pillared hall and portico. It also furnishes details of the expenses to be incurred in connection with the renovation of the beautiful *vimāna* of the temple, its *ardhamaṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* and for the lime - washing of the *prākāra* wall, chimney, old kitchen, etc.

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that the people in ancient India added to the rich cultural heritage by causing the construction of many beautiful temples, monastries, palaces and other edifices and spared no pains in making provisions for their perpetual maintenance and execution of periodical repairs and renovations. Inspite of such provisions, many edifices were destroyed in course of time. We come across many monuments spread over different regions in India which are in urgent need of various types of repairs. The Government of India and various State Governments are already doing their best to preserve these monuments through their archaeological departments at the central and state levels. These institutions have been ensuring the annual maintenance of the monuments under their protection in addition to executing specialised repairs to these ancient edifices. A number of laws[36] have also been enacted in this respect, which underline the responsiblity of the people towards these monuments. It need not be overemphasised that it is the sacred duty of the people at large to contribute their mite in preserving the cultural heritage for which their forefathers were responsible. India being a very large country, having thousands of monuments scattered over its different regions, it is not enough if the governmental agencies alone play their role. The elected bodies like District and Taluk Development Boards, Village Panchayats, educational institutions, temple authorities and individuals must consider its their duty to protect them from further decay and destruction due to vandalism, vagaries of nature etc., and take active interest in properly preserving them to posterity. In this respect they can seek the guidence of the experts in the field about the methods to be employed in conducting repairs to the ancient edifices. Awareness about preserving the rich cultural heritage is increasing throughout the world and in that context it may be mentioned that some monuments of rare architectural value have been protected as the World heritage monuments[37] with the patronage of UNESCO. Inscriptions left by our forefathers, constantly remind us of our sacred duty to preserve our rich cultural heritage.

Notes and References

1. *Vide, Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol.III, pp.6 and 120 and R.S.Panchmukhi, *Karnataka Historical Review* (1977), p.27.

2. This is of frequent occurrence in inscriptions. The *vāpī* conotes a step well, irrigation well or well with a flight of steps, whereas *kūpa* connotes on ordinary well [*vide*, D.C.Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi (1966), p.362].

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3. *C.I.I.* Vol. I, pp. 165 ff.
4. D.C.Sircar, *Slect Inscriptions,* Vol.I pp. 175 ff.
5. *C.I.I.*, vol. III, pp.121 ff..
6. *Ibid.,* Vol. IV. XXVII, pp. 19 ff.
7. *Ep.Ind* Vol. XXVII, pp. 4 ff., R.S.Panchamukhi, *karnatakada Ithihāsa*, Vol I, p. 167.
8. *S.I.I.* , Vol.XX, pp. 9ff.
9. Pramōdachandra, *Studies in Temple Architecture* (1975), p. 309.
10. R.S. Panchamukhis, *Karnataka Itihāsa, op. cit,. S.I.I.*, Vol. XX, No. 246.
11. *C.I.I.,* Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 198 ff.
12. *A.R.Ep.* 1931, Nos. B. 9, 10 and 36
13. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XI, [part I, Int. pp. VII ff. and pp. 39 ff.
14. *A.R. Ep.*, 1953-54. No. B. 50
15. P.B.Desai, *A History of Karnataka*, p. 169.
16. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, pp. 60 ff.
17. *A.R.Ep.,* 1983-84, No. B 7
18. Madhav N.Katti, 'Inscriptions from Hyderabad, Karnataka and Telengana and their bearing on Art History' published in *Indian Epigraphy and Its bearing on History of Art* [ed. by F.Asher and G.S.Gai (1985), pp. 238 ff.]
19. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, No. 2 IV - CN. No. 83, p.4
20. Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 123 ff.
21. *A.R.Ep.*, 1963-66, No. B 413, R.S. Panchamukhi, pp. 89 ff.
22. B.R.Gopal, *Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, pp. 89 ff.
23. *Ibid.,* pp. 79 ff.
24. *A.R.Ep.*, 1929, No. B 145, p. 18. My colleagues, Dr.M.D.Sampath, T.S.Ravi Shankar Shri.D.M.Nagaraju and Shri.S.Nagarjuna have assisted me in tracing out some references utilised in this article.
25. M.D. Sampath 'A temple of Rajēndrachōla I' SVUOJ, Vol. XXI - XXII PP 51 ff.
26. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X No. 544 and *A.R.Ep.,* 1924, No. B.270
27. *Ibid.,* No. B 558.
28. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 16, pp. 16 ff.

29. *Ibid.,* Vol. XI, I No. 505, pp. 518 ff.

30. *Ibid.,* Vol. XVI, No. 89.

31. *A.R.Ep.*, 1941-42, No.B.49

32. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVI, No. 256.

33. *Ibid.,* No. 280

34. *Ibid.,* No.Vol. X No. 771

35. *Ibid.,* Vol., XXIV, No. 561, pp. 543 ff.

36. Indian Treasure Trove Act of 1878, The Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1904, The Antiquity Export Control Act of 1947, The Ancient Monuments and Archeological Sites and Remains Act of 1959 and the Antiquity and Treasures Act of 1972.

37. *Vide*, Smt.Achala Moulik, the *World Heritage Monuments of India* (1994) The monuments are under the protection of the Archelogical Survey of India and are amongst the best in the world. I also thank her for asking me to prepare this paper.

9. AVIYANŪR INSCRIPTION OF RĀJĒNDRA CHŌḶA-I: A UNIQUE REFERENCE TO MIGRATION OF PEASANTS.

S.Rajavelu

Agriculture, like now, was considered to be the backbone of the economic life of the ancient Tamils. During Chōḷa period, various measures were adopted to promote agriculture. Though vast lands were granted to the temples, Jaina paḷḷis Brahmins Buddhists for religious merit, there was an economic function also considered by the king. The Central Government of the Chōḷas keenly observed certain rigid measures to bring the lands under cultivation providing them the irrigation facilities, reclamation of waste lands, regularising the land dues, etc. in order to get permanent revenue to the centre. All these measures were strictly adopted by Rājarāja I and his son and successor Rājēndra I.

A fairly large number of inscriptions of Rājarāja I and *Rājēndra I* refer to the tightening of the central government's control and check on the lands which sometimes resulted in the reaction against the centre by the peasants. This paper deals with such activities in Tirumuṉaippāḍi-nāḍu during the time of Rājēndra Chōḷā I. It also examines the realtionship between the centre and the states under the Chōḷās.

The inscription under review is found engraved on a loose stone pillar of the ruined Śiva temple at Aviyanūr in Panrutti Taluk of South Arcot District[1]. This record does not mention anything pertaining to the local temple, village, donation or anything related to the local affairs which we generally come across in most of the Chōḷas inscriptions.

This inscription merely refers to a royal order (*Śrīmugappaḍi = Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān* in Tamil) of the king Rājēndra I who had conquered Pūrvadēśa and Gaṅgai. It was issued in his 13th regnal year i.e., 1026 A.D. The royal order was sent to the *nāṭṭar* of Tirumuṉaippāḍi-nāḍu. As per the inscription, the first set of the peasants of Tirumuṉaippāḍi-nāḍu abandoned their agricultural lands and migrated *(nilai nillātu pōṉār)* elsewhere. Then the abandoned lands were occupied by new peasants and they started cultivation with areca palms *(kamugu)* and other products. Some of them also paid the tax due *(iṟai iruttār)* to the centre. From this royal order, it is understood that the king declared all the lands enjoyed by the new peasants as *mēkāṇi* and allowed them to continue the cultivation of areca palm in their respective lands. The term *mēkāṇi* could be interpreted as the occupant having full right to enjoy the land as hereditory right of possession. The order was signed by one Śēḍaṉ Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṉ.

The same copy of the inscription is also found engraved in a temple at Ēmāppērur, a village in Tirukkoyilur Taluk of the same district[2]. From this, it is certain that the *nāṭṭār* of Tirumuṉaippāḍi-nāḍu after receiving the royal order from the king Rājēndra I carried out the order immediately. Hence, they engraved the order in the headquarters of sub-nāḍus of Tirumuṉaippāḍi-nāḍu.

Tirumuṉaippāḍi-nāḍu was located on the south bank of the Peṇṇai, adjoining Milāḍu. Parts of Tirukkovilur, Vil-

lapuram, panrutti taluks formed part of Tirumuṉaippāḍi-nāḍu. This *nāḍu* probably stretched over an area extending between the Peṇṇai and Gaḍilam rivers from Milāḍu on the west upto Tiruvaḍi in Cuddalore Taluk on the east. It consisted of various sub *nāḍus* such as: (1) Kīḻ-Āṇmūr-nāḍu (2) Mēl-Āṇmūr-nāḍu (3) Arachūr-nāḍu (4) Mēlūr-nāḍu (5) Muḍiyūr-nāḍu (6) Pāḍūr-nāḍu (7) Peru-nū (8) Kaṉūr-nāḍu (9) Tāmar-nāḍu (10) Tiruveṇṇainallūr-nāḍu (11) Kayarpākkai-nāḍu (12) Iḍaiyāṟu-nāḍu (13) Aviyaṉūr-nāḍu and (14) Ēmāppērūr-nāḍu.

This royal order can be taken as the first royal Edict of Rājēndra I so far noticed in Aviyaṉūr, the headquarter of Aviyaṉūr-nāḍu and Ēmāppērur, the headquarter of Ēmāppērur-nāḍu [numbers 13, 14] which leads to a clue that this edict probably is also engrave in the above mentioned various sub-nāḍus of Tirumuṅaippāḍi. However, further discovery in this regard may only help to confirm the fact.

It is not possible to derive the reason for the migration of the earthen group peasants in the Tirumuṉaippāḍi-nāḍu. Probably the burden of taxation could have forced the peasants to run away from their place. It is already discussed that during the reign of Rājēndra I the government undertook severe action to regularise the land dues. After realising the situation King Rājēndra made some concessions to the new occupants who started their cultivation in the abandened lands and made the new peasants the owners of the land.

The migration of peasants in Tirumu ṉa- ippāḍi - nāḍu is also attested by another record in the same place Ēmāppērur (Ins. No.3 of our text). This is also a royal order issued by Rājēndra I in the same year (i.e., 13th regnal year) and the same day i.e 207 and signed by the same officer Śēḍaṉ Gaṅgai koṇḍa Chōḻan. But, it gives the additional information that the king granted certain lands unconditionally to the new peasants who migrated to the various villages in Tirumuṉaippāḍi-nāḍu particularly those who settled and paid the land tax *(iṟai iruttār)* in Chōḻakulavallinallūr in the king's regnal year 12 i.e., 1025 A.D.

From the above, we may gather that the old peasants of Tirumuṉaippāḍi-nāḍu probably ran away from their place prior to 12th regnal year (before 1025 A.D.) of the king and that the new settlers occupied the place during his 12th reganal year, started cultivation and remitted the tax to the centre.

It is also interesting to note that these three records shed valuable light on the relationship between the centre and state. Though the *nāḍu* had enjoyed certain privileges, the Chōḻa kings, especially Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I tried to build up a centralised administrative net work to integrate the state politically by destroying the barriers between *nāḍus* and incorporating them into the imperial administration[4]. This fact is stressed by Karashima and is proved up to a certain extent by our new evidence.

So far, we do not get any solid evidence which refers to the control of the centre over the state. But our inscription gives ample evidence on the involvement of the centre in the state. It is also known that the *nāḍu* played a crucial role in the land revenue assessment. It could function only with the concurrence of the ruling king or the centre.

The central government also excercised considerable influence over the local administration. Hence, the Chōḷa power structure is clearly framed one rather than a conventaional one.

Text of the inscriptions

I. Aviyanṟu inscriptions*:

1. *Svasti śrī pū*
2. *rvva dēsamuṅ*
3. *Geṅgaiyu -*
4. *ṅ ko- ṇḍaru -*
5. *ḷiya uḍaiyār*
6. *Śrī Rājēndra-*
7. *Chōḷa dēvar Śrīmū*
8. *gappaḍi Konēri -*
9. *ṉi mai*
10. *koṇḍāṉ*
11. *tirumuṉaip -*
12. *pāḍi-nāṭṭārkku aṉ*
13. *ṉāṭṭil nilai nillātu*
14. *pōṉār niṉ-1*
15. *laṅgaḷ yāṇḍu*
16. *13 ā vatu payi- 1*
17. *rēṟṟi-iṟi yiṟut*
18. *tārkkum nilai nil-*
19. *lātu pōṉār nilaṅga-*
20. *ḷ kamuk-iṭṭārkkum-ēkā-*
21. *ṉiyākat-tantō-*
22. *m tāṅgaḷ aṉṉi -*
23. *laṅgaḷ payirum-ē-*
24. *ṟṟik kamukum iḍuga-*
25. *ivai Śēḍan Gaṅ-*
26. *gaikoṇḍa-chō-*
27. *ḷan eḻuttu*
28. *yāṇḍu 13 nāḷ 207*

II. *Ēmāppērūr inscription - No. 3*

Svasti pūrvadēśamuṅ- Gaṅgaiyum koṇḍaruḷiṉa Uḍaiyār Śrī Rājēndra Chōḷa dēvar Śrīmugappaḍi. Kōnēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ ....rkku annāṭṭ -ūrgaḷil kud ḍigaḷ Chōḷkula- valli nallūrkku kuḏ ḍiyāyo pukkār Tirumuṉaip pāḍitt taṅāṅ āṅa nilaṅgaḷ taṅkḷukkēyai kāṇi āga tantōm tāṅgaḷ kaik ko......m ēṟṟik- kamugum iḍuga ivai Śēḍan Gaṅgai koṇḍa Chōḷan eḻuttu yāṇḍu 13 nāḷ 207.

Notes and References 1. Copied during the year 1992-93

2. *A.R.Ep.*, No. 531 of 1921

3. *Ibid.*, No.532, of 1921

4. Karashima, Noboru, *South Indian History and Society*, p. XXVI (in Introduction)

10. A MUGHAL INSCRIPTION FROM BILOLIA

M.I. Quddusi

A beautiful inlaid inscription in Persian[1] was photographed at Biloli in Nanded district in March 1982 during my epigraphical survey of Nanded and Parbhani districts of Maharashtra. This inscription had come into notice in 1916-17[2] but it was not studied in detail. The present paper is an attempt to highlight the inscription, hoping that it will be quite useful for scholars and historians interested in study of regional history.

Biloli (18° 45′ N., 70° 40′ E.), is the headquarters of the taluk of the same name, situated on the Narsi-Dicapalli road in Nanded district. The inscription under study is fixed in the Jāmi' Masjid, known as Ḥaḍrat Nawwāb Sarfarāz Khān Shahīd Masjid, which is one of the earliest Mughal monuments in the Deccan, built during the time of Shāh Jahān in the year 1645-46 by one of his governors.

Built of stone, the mosque has a facade of five pointed arches and is shaded by a deep cornice, above which runs a battlemented parapet of arcaded screen of perforated stone panels. It is flanked at either end by a tall and slender *minār*[3] and has in the parapet smaller ones of similar design placed above the piers. Around the *minār* at the top are eight stone chains hanging with balls; when moved by wind, the balls produce peculier sound and attract the visitors.

The rectangular inscriptional slab, fixed to the left of the central *miḥrāb* and decorated with floral-chain margins, comprises seven lines of Persian verses, executed in pleasant Nasta'līq characters. In the middle of the slab, is a docorated vertical panel, bearing some writing in a thinner hand at the top and the bottom. The epigraph records the construction of a fine mosque, a garden and a tank (near the mosque) at Bilolī in 1645-46 by Star Afrāz Khān during the time of Shāh Jahān. The calligrapher of the text was Muḥammad Sharīf, son of Shaikh Lād Muḥammad.

The text of the epigraph is deciphered as follows :

Transliteration

Allāhu Akbar Jall Jalāluhū

1. Shah-i-Ṣāḥib Qirān-i-jūd gustar Ki 'adl-u-dādash az īzad 'aṭā shud
2. Zi luṭf-i-Khāṣ-i-ū Khān-i-Sar Afrāz Bidaulat Ṣāḥib-i-tūgh-u-lawā shud
3. Faganda dar Bilolī ṭarḥ-i-masjid Dar arduk muddati 'ālī binā shud
4. Maqām-i-faiḍ bakhsh-i-ahl-i-ṭā 'at Zi nuzhat jalwagāh-i-auliyā shud
5. Ba nizdash sākht tālābi wa bāghi Farḥ bakhsh-i-dil-i-ahl-i-ṣafā shud
6. Zi dil chū Khwāstam tārīkh-i-masjid Ba sū-i-bārgāh-i-Kibriyā shud
7. Zi hātif īn sarūsh-i-ghaib bashunīd 'Ibādatgāh-i-haq guyān binā shud

Rāqimuhū Muḥammad Sharīf ibn Shaikh Lād Muḥammad (Pl. I)

Translation

allāh (is) greatest. Exalted be His glory !

1. The generous king-lord of the happy conjunction (i.e. Shāh Jahān) whose justice and equity, God bestowed (upon us).

2. By his special favour, fortunate Sar Afrūz Khān became the holder of the royal falcon and the banner.

3. He laid the foundation of a mosque in Bilolī (and thus) there came into existence, in a short time, one excellent structure.

4. (It is) a bountiful resort for prayerful persons. (Becasue of) its pleasantness, it became a respledent recluse for the holy saints.

5. To its proximity, he built a tank and (laid out) a garden (which) exhilarated the hearts of the mystics.

6. When I wanted from (my) heart a chronogram for the mosque, it diverted to the audience of the Almighty.

7. The invisible angel (i.e. my heart) heard a voice from heaven (saying that) a mosque of truthful persons was founded', (A.H. 1055-1645 A.D., Feb 17-1646 A.D., Feb. 6).

Its calligrapher (is) Muḥammad Sharīf son of Shaikh Lād Muḥammad.

Sar Afrāz Khān,[5] the builder of the mosque, was a famous noble under Shāh Jahān and Aurangzed. He was of distinguished lineage and belonged to the Quraish[6] family. His forfathers came to the Deccan from holy Medina and entered the Niẓām Shāhī service of Aḥmadnagar. He himself was a veteran military officer, being honoured with the title of Sar Afrāz Khān.[7]

In the Niẓām Shāhī service, Sar Afrāz Khān had been the commandant of the fort of Qandahār[8], governor of Nānded, *Sar Lashkar* (commander) of the Teliṅgāṇa army and the commander-in-chief[9], at various stages.

Till the time Malik 'Ambar was alive (1626), Mughal position in the Deccan remained vulnerable and he hindered the consolidation of Mughal rule there. After him, with renewed vigour, Shāh Jahān commenced his Deccan campaign against the Niẓām Shāhīs. In 1631, his general Khān Daurān[10] set himself to capture the fort of Qandahār. The Mughals faced bitter fighting and stiff resistance against Sar Afrāz Khān who was in company with other military veterans. Nevertheless, the Mughals captured the fort on 7th May 1631.[11]

As the fortune of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty was waning, Rustam Khān,[12] the commander-in-chief, deserted to the Mughals, so also Sar Afrāz Khān who was bestowed the rank of 4,000 foot with 3,000 horse.[13] Shāh Jahān took Sar Afrāz Khān to Northern India but he took leave to serve his native country to which he had been greatly attached. He was conferred *pargana* Lohgaon in Nānded region in *jāgīr*. In that *pargana*, he made Bilolī as his home and adorned it with fine buildings including a garden, a reservoir and a lovely mosque (to which the inscription under study belongs). Because of his building activities and adornment, Bilolī became famous in the Deccan.

Apart from his services under the Niẓām Shāhīs, Sar Afrāz Khān served the Mughal cause for a total period of 35 yers (1631-65), a quarter century under Shāh Jahān and a decade under Aurangazeb. At various stages, he had promotions in his rank under Shāh Jahān.[14] He always served diligently under Prince Aurangzeb and accompanied the latter in the war of succession.

Under Aurangzeb, Sar Afrāz Khān was further elevated to the rank of

5,000 foot with 4,000 horse[15] and was granted additional *jāgīrs* in Dhārur[16] and Mahāgaon.[17] Officials working under him worked for peace and prosperity in his fiefdom. When in May 1661 the *thānadār* of Dhārur caused destruction in a village of Mahāgaon, his officials looked into the matter and compensated the loss to the concerned.[18] Likewise, Sar Afrāz Khān remained in touch (May 1661) with his officials at Mahāgaon and elsewhere with Jalāl Khān in order to deal with Dongar Zamīndār, a trouble maker in the region.[19] On the other hand, officials working under Sar Afrāz Khān could not go unpunished for their negligence. In an instance, the zamīndār of Mahāgaon, being unable to resist the misdeeds of his troops fled to the hills, fearing severe punishment.[18]

In order to check the Marāṭha activities, Sar Afrāz Khān was appointed the *thānadār* of Sārol[19] and Sūpa[20] (c.1662). In discharging his responsibilities, he showed full sincerity and always co-operated with other Mughal officials against the Marāṭhas. In May 1662 when Ghālib Khān[21] and his army accompanid by his maṉṣabdārs, Maqṣūd Beg and Ṣūfī Beg, entered Sūpa, Sar Afrāz Khān entertained all of them. It was at this time that 300 Marāṭha cavalry gathered at Bholair and took away four animals.[22]

'Abdullāh Khān Shīrāzī (who later became *faujdār* of Māhur)[23] and Sar Afrāz Khān were close friends and the latter invited (May 1662) the former for entertainment at Sūpa and presented him five *thāns* (rolls) of cloth. Among others who were on friendly terms with him included Chatr Bhoj Chauhān[24] and Kishan Singh.[25] In those days desultory Mughal campaigns against the Marāṭhas were going on. And whatever booty was captured against Netu (Netājee Pālkar), the commander-in-chief of Shivāji's army, was together inspected by Sar Afrāz Khān and Nāmdar Khān[26] and sent to the imperial court.[27]

After the submission (1665) of Shivājī to Rāja Jai Singh,[28] governor of the Deccan, Sar Afrāz Khān played active role in bringing the two together and since then the Marāṭhas started military co-operation with the Mughals against Bījāpur, when Rāja Jai Singh proceeded to devastate Bījāpur territory,[29] the fort of Mangalvedha,[30] was captured by the Mughals with the help of Netu. Jai Singh appointed Udai Singh to the charge of Mangalvedha and made Sar Afrāz Khān the *faujdār* of the district and moved ahead.[31] Despite his striking a note of caution, Sar Afrāz Khān, out of valour and hastiness engaged with the 'Ādil Shāhī forces under Sharza Khān and was killed[32] alongwith his son and son-in-law. He was buried at Bilolī in a tomb where an '*Urs* (death anniversary) is held every year in the month of Jumādā II.[33]

Sar Afrāz Khān had five sons, probably all of them serving under the Mughals. Two of them Ḥusain Khān and Purdil Khān left their progeny. Ḥusain Khān, the eldest son, received the title of Sar Afrāz Khān after the death of his father. He was killed in the battle of Malkhed[34] in 1677 which Diler Khān fought against the 'Ādil Shāhīs. Aurangazeb had granted him 75 *bīghās* of agricultural land for meeting the expenses of the mosque and the tomb of Sar Afrāz Khān.[35] Burhānullāh (the son of Ḥusain Khān) was the grandson of Sar Afrāz Khān, who about the end of Aurangzeb's reign, was the *faujdār* of

Nudratābād (Sāgar) and died a natural death at Aurangābād.[36]

In the light of the inscription under study, it is obvious to show that Sar Afrāz Khān was a religious man by nature and was interested in the works of public utility and by his laudable services, he had endeared himself to Shāh Jahān, as the words in the inscription *luṭf-i-Khāṣṣ* (i.e. enjoying special favour) and *Khān-i-Sarafraz* (head-exalting Khān) indicate, and the imperial letters[37] to him from Shāh Jahān also corroborate this fact. He was prudent and for-sighted. We find him co-operative with other Mughal officers in matter of administration and in quelling disturbances in the region of his *jāgīr* or wherever he was posted. We also find him affable and entertaining to his friends and colleagues and presenting them gifts, etc.[38]

Coming to other aspects of the epigraph, the name of the town, Bilolī, [39] as mentioned in the record, still persists without any change. As regards the calligrapher of the text, it was Muḥammed Sharīf son of Shaikh lād Muḥammad who comes to light, adding a new name to the list of calligraphers under Shāh Jahān.

Notes and References

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1981-82, Appendix-C, No., 14.
2. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness The Nizam's Dominions*, 1916-17 A.D., Plate I.
3. Southern minar collapsed in 1960 because of lightning stroke.
4. Sherwānī, H.K. & Joshi, P.M.,(Eds.,)*History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol.II (Hyderabad, 1974), pp.307-08; *Maharashtra State Gazetteers (MSG), Nanded District* (Bombay, 1971), p.561, Plate XII.
5. In the Persian records, his name is variously mentioned as far Sar Afrāz Khān Sar Afrāz Khān Dakanī Sarafrāz Khān Dakanī(and in an Urdu work as) Mīrzā Sarfarāz Beg Khān and Nawwāb Sarfarāz Beg Khān. Farid Bhakkari, *Dhakhīratul Khwānin*, Ed. Moinul Hag Vol.III(Karachi, 1974), p.143; Lahauri, A.H., *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol.I (Calcutta, 1867), pt.I, p.374; pt.II, p.297; Vol.II (Calcutta, 1868), p.721; Kamboh, M. Saliih,'*Amal-i-Ṣālih*, Vol.III (Calcutta, 1939), p.453; Shah Nawaz Khān, *Maāthirul Umarā* Vol.II (Calcutta,1890), p.469-73; Chāunderbarghtāl, M.Ahmadd Alil Baig, Tārīkh-i-Nānded Dakan (Hyderbad, 1961), pp. 24-29.
6. Quraish is the name of a tribe in Arabia, of which Prophet Muḥammad's grandfather 'Adbul Muṭṭalib, was the chief. Steingass, F., *Persian-English Dictionary* (N. Delhi, 1981) p.968,
7. His title was Sar Afrāz Khān as recorded in the inscription under study. Lahauri, Kamboh and Farid Bhakkari also refer to him with the same title as Sarfarāz Khān. Later on, the letter *alif* (i.e.*ā*) was syncopated in the word *Sar Afrāz*, making it *Sarfarāz*.
8. for details about the fort, Bashīruddīn Ahmad, *Wāqiat- i-Mamlakat-i-Bijapur*, pt. III (Agra, 1951), pp. 411-17.
9. Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, pp.469-70; Inayat Khan *Shah Jahan Nāma*, Eng.tr.A.R. Fuller, Ed. W.E.Beley & Z.A.Desai (Delhi, 1990), p.65.

10. For his career, Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op.cit.*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), pp.782-85.

11. For details of the battle, Lahauri, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, pt.I, pp.374-77; Kamboh, *op.cit.*, Vol.I (Calcutta, 1923), pp.436-39; Inayat Khan, *op.cit.*, pp.65-66.

12. For his, Kamboh, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, pp.440-41; Farid Bhakkari, *op.cit.*, Vol.III, pp.91-92; Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, pp.270-76.

13. Lahauri, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pt.II, p.297; Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.470.

14. Lahaur, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, pt.I, p.296; Vol.II, p.721; Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire* (Delhi, 1985), pp.239, 304, 345; Kamboh, *op.cit*, Vol.III, p.453.

15. Kazim, M., *Alamgir Nama* (Calcutta, 1868), p.47; Nayeem, M.A., Ed., *Mughal Documents : Catalogue of Aurangazeb's Reign*, Vol.I pt.II (Hyderabad, 1981), p.207.

16. Dharur is in Kaij taluka of Bhir District. For its history, Bashirudin,. *op.cit.*, pt.III, pp.293-96; *MSG, Bhir District* (Bombay, 1969), pp.648-51.

17. Mahagaon is in Bhokar taluka of Nanded District.

18. Nayeem, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, pt.II, pp.16,19 and 129.

19. Sarol is in Bhor taluka of Poona District.

20. Supa (18^0 20 'N., 74^0 23 'E) in Baramati taluk is 36 miles southeast of Poona. *MSG, Poona District* (Bombay, 1954), p.684.

21. Ghalib Kan Deccani, in the 3rd R.Y.of Aurangzeb, surrenderred the fort of Parenda to the Mughals and got the mansb of 4,000. He served upto 9th R.Y. Shah Nawaz Khan *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.865; Kewal Ram, *Tazkiratul Umara*, Eng.tr., S.M.Azizuddin Husain (N.Delhi, 1985), p.126; Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb* (New York, 1966), p.180.

22. Nayeem, *op.cit.*, p.134.

23. Yusuf Husain .Ed. *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign* (Hyderabad, 1958), p.80-81.

24. He was grandson of Lakshmi Sen and served upto 9th R.Y. of Aurangzeb. Kewal Ram, *op.cit.*, p.288.

25. Nayeem, *op.cit.*, p.135.

26. He was the son of Jafar Khan Tehrani. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol.III (Calcutta, 1891), pp.830-33.

27. Nayeem, *op.cit.*, p.135.

28. For his career, Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol.III, pp.568-77.

29. For details Mustaid Khan, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Eng. tr. J. Sarkar (Calcutta, 1947), pp.38-39; Sarkar, J.*History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV (Calcutta, 1972), pp.83-106.

30. Mangalvedha (17^0 30' N., 75^0 25' E.) is headquarters of the taluka bearing the same name, 14 miles from Pandharpur in Sholapur district. *MSG, Sholapur District* (Bombay, 1917, pp. 867-72).

31. Kazim, *op.cit.*, p.992.

32. For details, Kazim, *op.cit.*, pp.995-96; Bashirruddin, *op.cit.*, pt.I. (Agra, 1915), pp.306-07; Syed, A.J.,

Aurangzeb in Muntakhab al Lubab (Bombay, 1977), p.116.

33. *MSG, Nanded District*, p.561.

34. Malkhed is in Seram taluk in Gulbarga District, *Mysore State Gazetter, Gulbarga District* (Bangalore, 1966), p.466. For details of the battle, Sarkar, *op.cit*, Vol.IV, pp.120-21; Bhimsen, *Tariakh-i-Dilkasha* Eng.tr. Sarkar J., Ed. Khobrekar, V.G (Bombay, 1972), p.116.

35. Chugtai, *op.cit.*, p.29. According to *MSG Nanded District* the mosque has as *inam* land of 10.53 hectares (26 acres of land). p.561.

36. Shah Nawaz Khan , *op.cit.*, Vol.II, pp.472-73; Inayatullah Khan, *Kalimat-i -Taiyibat*, Ed. S.M. Azizuddin Husain (Delhi, 1982), p.80. Another son of Hussain Khan was Muradullah.

37. Two letters of Shah Jahan addressed to Sar Afrāz Khan are still in possession of Mirza Hasan Beg, one of the descendents of Sar Afrāz Khan at Biloli. Chughtai, *op.cit.*, p.29.

38. The remark about him that'(he) neither harmed nor helped anyone'(Farid Bhakkari, *op.cit.*, Vol.III, p.143 and Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.472) is contrary to the contents of other sources that we have consulted.

39. H.Beveridge in his English translation, wrongly reads the name of the town as Baloli. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Eng.tr., H. Beveridge & Com. Baini Prashad, Vol.II, pt.II (Patna, 1979), p.717.

11. AN INTERESTING EPIGRAPH FROM MASAIPET (A.P.)

G.S. Khwaja

Local traditions, folk-lores and myths, though never considered by serious historians as an authentic source or a part of history but it cannot by totally ruled out that clues from traditions, folk-lores and corrupted places-names if exploited intelligently, speaks about so many things which after corrected interpretation and synchronization lead us to fill up the missing links of history of an event or profiles or careers of persons. The same synthesis has taken place in this case.

The epigraph under study is mere construction record which mentions about the erection of mosque by a lady on a particular date, but a local tradition about the founder of the village or say builder and a little work-up on the clues about the corruption of the place-name started showing inter-relationship and affinity between each other and ultimately a new important personage came to the light.

This epigraph, which I copied during the course of my official tour, is from a beautiful mosque at Masaipet village in Taluk and district Medak in Andhra Pradesh.[1] Masaipet lies between 78° 25' latitude & 17° 50' longitude on the bank of Haldi River about 28 kms South-East of Medak.[2] This part of country remained, in ancient period, under the sway of Mauryas, Sātavāhanas, Sakas, Chālukyas of Badami, Rasṭrakūṭas and Chālukyas of Kalyāni and in medival period under Kakatiyas till Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji's invasion of Warangal in early 14th century. Then after disintegration of Tughlaqs entered the Bahamanis. In early 16th century rose provincial dynasty of Quṭb Shashis as an off-shoot of Bahmanis. Medak formed the part of Telangana province of Quṭb Shahis.[3]

The mosque which possesses the inscriptional slab is a fine specimen of Quṭb Shahi architecture with an imposing structure of three arches in facade and two long minarets at the extremes. Minarets are of the typical Qutb Shashi style with bulbous small domes at tops. Prayer chamber has stucco-ornamented frontal arches, niches decorated with floral motifs, brackets and turrets along the terrace ends. The mosque is built on a rock protruding from the ground and stands on the western side of the rail track of Manmad-Hyderabad section of South-Central Railway. The marble inscriptional slab measuring 45 x 75 cms. fixed above the central *mihrāb* of the mosque. Persian text executed in beautiful relief Thulth characters has been deciphered as follows :

Binā-i-īn masjid nihād sāliḥa, sāi 'ma, rāki 'a, sājida, a 'fīfa, bāhayā Khairu 'n-Nisā bint-i-maghfūr marḥūm Mir Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Ni 'matu'llāh Yazdī fī (A.H) 1038.

Translation

Foundation of this mosque was laid by Khairu 'n-Nisā - the virtuous, the abstinent, the pious, the chaste, the modest-daughter of late Mīr Quṭbu 'd -Dīn Ni 'matu 'llāh Yazdī, (i.e., of Yazd, in Iran) in (A.H.) 1038/1628-29 A.D.

The contents of this epigraph, on its face, are very simple, that a pious lady Khairu'n-Nisā, daughter of Quṭu'b-Din Ni'matu'llāh Yazdi, erected this mosque on the given date, but local tradition

made this epigraph and its contents, otherwise, very important.

After procurement of estampage of the epigraph when I contracted a passer-by in order to fetch more details about the village and its other monuments if there are any, it came to my knowledge, that fellow was from another village in the vicinity and reported whenever they have an encounter with the Masaipet-people they taunt them with a Telugu sentence which goes as under :

- *"Mīrūkā Āḍadī Nirminchina ūrū Wāḍū, Mātū Yemi Debbāladagalarū"* -

which means : How you can fight with us, as you are from the village founded by a woman. This tradition is as old as the Masaipet village itself.

A little ponder over this theory with further enquiries provided me the clue about the existence of a Mān-Sahiba who had founded this *peṭh* or bazar-village. It was not very difficult to infer that Mān-Sahiba Peṭh was the original place-name which got corrupted into Masaipet with the passage of time.

Now a few points I would like to put forth towards the identification of the builder. Mān-Sahiba was an honourific epithet generally given, by the officials and subjects, to the ladies of the royal family of Qutb Shashi rulers. A glaring example of this tradition is the person of Hayāt Bakhshī Begum, the wife of Muhammad Quṭb S̲h̲āh. She was called Mān-Sāhiba and a tank built by her in Saifabad locality of Hyderabad is still called after her as Mānsahiba Tank.[4] This clue was logical enough for taking into consideration that founder of this village and builder of the mosque should be a lady from the family of Qutb Shashi rulers. Chronicles say that father of the builder-lady, Mīr Quṭbu 'd-Din alias Ni 'matu 'llāh Yazdi was a Sayyid from S̲hirāz (in Iran) and Muhammad Quṭb S̲hā 's paternal aunt had been given to him in marriage. When Prince Abdullah Mirza was born of Muḥammad Quṭb S̲h̲āh in A.H.1023 (1614-15 A.D.), court astrologers warned him not to see the face of the prince till he attains the age of twelve. The king selected none other than his uncle Mīr Quṭbu 'd-Din Ni'matu'llāh Yazdi for entrusting the responsibilities of fostering and tutorship of Prince Abdullah. Mīr Qutbu'd-Dīn was later favoured with the appointment as *Mīr Jumla* (Prime Minister).[5] Unfortunately Mīr couldn't survive moe than five years and died about A.H.1028 (1618-19 A.D.) and lies buried in Mughalpura locality of Hyderabad. The responsibility of tutorship was then entrusted to Mirzā S̲h̲arīf S̲h̲ahristānī, the son-in-law of Mīr Quṭbu 'd-Din and evidently the husband of K̲h̲airu 'n-Nisā of our record.[7] After these references from historical works, it is established that K̲h̲airu 'n-Nisā, the builder-lady of our record was cousin sister of Muḥammad Quṭb S̲h̲āh (1611-1626 A.D.), the VI ruler of Golconda. It is most likely that Mīr Quṭbu 'd-Din and after him his son-in-law in sucess were given the fief for their distinguished services,,in and around the present Medak District and thus the village of Masaipet and mosque therein came into existence.

The date of this record suggests that after nearly ten years of his father's death, K̲h̲airu'n-Nisā had erected this mosque in his father's memory or for her own merit, is not that much important but what becomes important for the students of medieval history-particularly of the history od Qutb Shahis - that this

epigraph is the only source to provide us with a new name of a person from the royal family of Qutb Shashis and that too of the rank of not less than a cousin of the ruling king.

Apart from its historical significance, this record is a fine specimen of elegant T̲h̲ulṯh̲ style of calligraphy for which the master calligraphers of Qutb Shaih period have been famous all the world over. Its smooth cursive formations, bottom to top arrangement of words and their accomodative setting, proportionate verticle strokes and lateral bisecting, makes it simply a masterpiece of T̲h̲ulṯh̲ style set in Tughrā form. Unfortunately the name of the calligrapher is not mentioned but the degree of penmanship reminds us of the works of celebrated Qutb-Shahi calligraphers like Jalālu'd-Dīn Shirazi, Husain Bahraini, Sāliḥ Bahraini, Lutfullah Tabrizi and others.

Notes and References

1. A.R.Ep, 1985- 86, Appendix-C No.5.
2. *Gazetteer of India and Pakistan*, Vol.II, (Delhi,1953),p.817; Survey of India Maps, sheet 56K(1/4),IV edition, 1946.
3. *Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers* -Medak (Hyderabad ,1976),pp.11-17.
4. S.A.A. Bilgrami, *Landmarks of the Deccan*, (Hyderabad,1927),p.50.
5. *Nizamud-Din Ahemad - Hadiquats-Salateen* (Hyderabad, 1961),p.9; Sayyid Ali Asghar- - *Maathir-i-Dakan* (Hyderabad, No date)p.28.
6. *A.R.Ep*, 1967-68, Appendix d- No 12.
7. S.A.A. Bilgrami -*op.cit.*, p.-45.

12. SOME INSCRIBED SEAL IMPRESSIONS

Amarendra Nath

A couple of interesting inscribed seal impressions bearing names of individuals have been identified in the collection obtained in the course of excavations at Adam, Taluk Kuhi, District Nagpur Maharastra. It may not be out of place to mention that Adam is the only site South of Narmada which has yielded a good variety of seals, sealings and signet in the course of excavations. Some of the published ones are of great historical significance from political as well as socio-economic history point of view[1]. Here, comparatively better preserved sealed impressions have been selected for discussion. The one discussed first bears Registration No.12091 while the second 5386. The former is impressed as mark of identification over a hollow terracotta object having apsidal sides and semi lenticular profile, [2] while the latter is regular sealing of commercial nature.

Seal-impression over a hollow terracotta object was discovered from the rampart cutting at a path of 1.67 m. The sediments in which it has surfaced was of secondary nature, as the heaped-up deposit was part of formation of the southern rampart which went into its construction. The finding, in a way , helped in fixiing the chronology of the secondary deposit posterior to the inscribed object, while the chronology of the former could be arrived at on the basis of palaeographical study.

The single lined Prakrit legned affixed with the help of an oblong seal-matrix consists of four lanky early Brāhmi characters (Pl.I). It reads *Sāmakena.* The slightly curved base-line of the last character, however, suggests an alternative reading as *Sāmakeya.* All the four charcters are of elongated variety, showing no sign of either serif or nail-head . *Sa* has its left hook very short while *ma* has oval looped base. *Ka* shows a lengthened vertical whereas the *na* or *ya* has crescent-like base line. Hence it may assigned to *circa* second cetury B.C.

There are a few inferences to this type of name available in the contemporary records. At Bhārhut, Sāmaka figures as monk.[3] While Sāmaka appear as officer of gōvardhana in the line six at Nāsik cave inscription in which at one place it reads:(1) *Govadhane amachasa Samakasa* (2) *déyo* (3) *rajāṇito* (4) and at another *Sāmako arogavatavo tato eva cha.*[4] Likewise, in Sānchi inscription there is reference to Samika as trader *(Samikasa Vānikasa)*[5] In another reference of similar nature Samika as monk *(Samikasa ayanagasa atevasino)* has been referred to.[6]

Above inferences make it amply clear that Samaka, Sāmaka or Samika was a common name in the early centuries of christian era and was prevalent among the middle order of soceity, living in Central India and its contiguous region of upper Deccan.

Apart from this the find discussed above not only reveals the name of the person to whom it belonged but also underlines the age old tradition of marking the personal belonging.

The sealing of Pūrṇa has been discovered almost from the central area of the habitation cutting (Tr.No.B4/3). It

is found in a good state of preservation from the Sātavāhana horizon (Regd. No. 5386). Its basal portion bearing bamboo-chips mark is partially damaged yet it looks more squarish than oblong (30 x 30 x 16mm). It is unevenly fired and looks more brownish than smoky. The upper surface bears an incuse (diameter: 12mm) of circular seal-matrix which is reasonably deep, but the single lined Prakrit legend is in discernable relief (Pl.II) .Above and below the legend there are auspicious symbols, namely ,*Indradhvaja*(triangular - headed standard) and *nandipāda* (taurine) respectively[7]. Both are depicted in a horizontal order. *Nandipāda* is considered to be 'the feet of happy one', while nandi is synonym of Lord Vishṇu and Śiva, and also occur as names of Gandharva and Śiva-gaṇa. The legend with a case ending consists of four early Brāhmī characters. It reads: *Puranasa* i.e. the sealing 'of Pūrṇa'. All the *akshara* are warfish in nature with a thickened head. *Pa* of angular type with equal arms, *ra* of pointed variety *na* of horizontal base type and *sa* of equal armed with an acute angle at the right bottom all these help in fixing the chronology of the sealing to *circa* first century A.D. The only orthographical peculiarity is the use of *na* instead of *ṇa.*

Pūrṇa as prefix occur in a number of primary contexts, to mention a few like: Pūrṇabhadra, Pūrṇakumbha, Pūrṇamukha, Pūrṇachandra, Pūrṇabhadra, Pūrṇavikrama and Pūrṇapāla, etc. However, Pūrṇa without any prefix or suffix occur as proper name in the grant of Bhāvahita of *circa* seventh century A.D.[8] Thus the evidence from Adam[9] becomes one of the earliest archeological inference to Pūrṇa as proper name. It may also fall in the category of sealings of personal name.

Notes and References

1. A few published ones by the preesent author mentioned are "Toponymy of Asaka and Asika", *Indica*, Vol.27, No.2, 1990, pp.87-96; "On a Mahasenapati sealing from Adam", *Ep.Ind.,* Vol.XLII, 19922, pp.72-74; "Sigillate of Laxical appelation", *Indica*, Vol.31, No.1, pp.1-5.
2. Such objects have generally been described as 'head scrature', in a number of archaeological reports of Nasik, Nevasa, Bhokardan, Paunar, Pauni, etc.
3. A.Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut,* London 1879, p.136.
4. E.Senart, "The inscriptions in the caves at Nasik", *Ep. Ind.,* Vol.VIII, pp.73-74.
5. G.Bühler, "Further inscriptions from Sanchi", *Ep. Ind.*, Vol.II, pp.375.
6. *Ibid.,* p.393.
7. Sealings with such signs have been reported from a number of early historical sites. Cf. Amarendra Nath, "A sealing of the Sacred import", *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India.*, Vol XIX, pp 118-22
8. D.C.Sircar, "Two grants of Early Guhilas", *Ep. Ind.*, Vol.34, pp.171-73.
9. Earlier the sealing of persoanl name of Bhavadatta from a Adam was published in the previous issue of this Journal . Cf. Amarendra Nath, "Discovering Bhavadatta", *JESI*, Vol.XX, pp.81-82.

13. SOME PERSO-ARABIC INSCRIPTION FROM KOLAR DISTRICT OF KARNATAKA

M.Y. Quddusi

In 1990, during the course of my epigraphical survey, I copied 14 Perso-Arabic inscriptions from Kolar district of Karnataka[1]. Of them eight inscriptions copied from 3 different places viz., Mailapur (1), Kolar (6) & Mulbagal (1) deserve mention, ranging in their dates from A.H.1145 (1732-33 A.D.) to A.H. 1220 (1805-06 A.D.). There is one epigraph preceding to Hyder Ali's rule. There are some inscriptions falling under the rule of Tipu Sultan but only one of them specifically mentions his name. The remaining records belong to post Tipu Sultan period. These inscriptions are quite important for regional history, throwing light on religious and secular building activities in Kolar district.

Chronologically, the earliest inscription in the group is from Mailapur in Mulbagal taluk[2]. It assigns the construction of mosque to one Shaikh Muḥammad in A.H.1145 (1732-33A.D.) at Muḥammadanagar. It seems that quite a good number of muslims had settled there which required the construction of a place of worship i.e. mosque for congregational prayers. In the light of the present inscription, it is apparent that Mailapur was then known as Muḥammadnagar. No other details are available about the builder Shaikh Muḥammad.

From Kolar[3] proper, the epigraph dated A.H.1199 (1784-85 A.D.) contains only two words i.e. *Yā Ḥāfiẓ* (O protector) written on an old sarai. Unfortunately, it does not provide any information about the builder. the next inscription from the same place is from another sarai named *Farkhunda Sarā* (i.e. auspicious inn), which was built in A.H.1200 (1785-86 A.D.) by muḥammad Uthmān[4]. The builder of this rest house finds mention in another inscription dated A.H.1192 (1778 A.D.) from Koppal[5] in Raichur district which helps us to trace his service career under Hyder Ali. It states that by the order of Hyder Ali, Muḥammad Uthmān, resident of south Kolar, carried out repairs to the foundation, canal and trench of the fort. It means that under Hyder Ali he remained posted at Koppal and under Tipu he was transferred to Kolar where he built the rest house. One more inscription from Kolar was copied from Bago Baoli[6] which looks like a small tank. It is dated A.H.1200(1785-86 A.D.), recording a sentence in Arabic , pertaining to the Baoli that every thing owes its existence to water. The name of the builder is not mentioned. Another work of public utility was complete in A.H.1201 (1786-87 A.D.) at Kolar[7]. the text of this brief inscription says that it was built for the sake of God. Neither the name of the work nor the name of person is mentioned. Near the above epigraph at Kolar[8] is another inscription of tipu's period. It provides information about the construction of a tank by the order of Tipu Sultan in his eleventh regnal year (1793 A.D.).It was built by Sayyid Budhan, the revenue collector. From another source, we get some information about Sayyid Budhan who was the chief treasure of Srirangapatna in 1799 A.D. He was one of the civil and military officers who was killed on 4th May

1799 A.D. along with Tipu Sultan while fighting against the British forces.[9]

The last two inscriptions from Kolar proper and Mulbagal are regarding the construction of rest-houses. Kolar inscription [10] dated A.H.1216 (1801-02 A.D.) states that one Ishaque built the rest house for the people. He carried out the work of another rest house at Mulbagal[11] named *Hyderī Sarā* (Hyderī rest house) completed in A.H.1220 (1805-06 A.D.). The builder Ishaque lies buried at Kolar[12] as the inscription on his grave suggests. He died in A.H. 1220 (1805-06 A.D.). One Abdur Rahim Qadiri, native and resident of Haveli mahala at Kolar belongs to the family of Muḥammad U͟thmān who is referred to above in our inscription. Abdur Rahim Qadiri describes Muḥammad U͟thmān as treasurer under Tipu Sultan. A manuscript of the holy Qurān still in good preservation, is available with him. The manuscript contains the concluding remark on the last page whereby we come to know that holy Qur'an was written by Muḥammed U͟thmān a few months prior to his death in A.H.1220 (1805-06 A.D.).

In conclusion, we may say that these inscriptions constitute primary source material for Kolar district of Karnataka. Construction of rest-houses, tank and step-well at Kolar for the public use point out the fact that quite a large number of persons visited Kolar for various purposes and business activities remained undisrupted under Tipu Sultan and the Woḍeyars.

Notes and References

1. These inscriptions are listed in *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp)* for the year 1989-90, Appendix 'C' Nos. 12 to 25.
2. *A.R.Ep.*, 1989=90 Appendix 'C', No. 25.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 21.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 16
5. *Tarikh-i-Sultanat-i-Khudadad* by Mahmud Bangalori (Bangalore, IInd edition), p.482.
6. *A.R.Ep.*,1989-90 Appendix 'C', No. 20.
7. *Ibid.*, No. 23.
8. *Ibid.*, No. 22.
9. *Tarikh-i-Sultanat-i-Khudadad,* p.584.
10. *A.R.Ep.*,1989-90 Appendix 'C', No 17.
11. *Ibid.*, No 25.
12. *Ibid.*, No 18.

14. HISTORICITY OF KING "PU" OF THE SAṄGSI MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION FROM KOLHAPUR DISTRICT

H.S.Thosar

Saṅgsi is a village in the Gaganbavda taluk of Kolhapur District in Maharashtra, where a stele had been enshrined long beack. It has a pannel of sculptures depicting a lady lying amidst the consuming flames of fire surrounded by lamenting women. On the top of this scene is an inscription of two lines in box-headed early Brāhmī script of the southern type. The said inscription was first noticed by Dr.J.F.Fleet in the last decade of the last century. He states[1]. "The only other record in "box-headed" characters in this part of the country known to me so far is a fragmentary inscription on a sculptured stone at a temple at Saṅgsi near Bāwḍā in the Kolhapur state. The sculpture represents a woman on a funeral pyre and the inscription records that the stone was set up by a prince, whose name is broken away, in affectionate memorry of his beloved wife Pālidēvi".

Local people belive that the stele is a memorial stone of a woman who had committed *satī*. The inscription was first edited by the Late H.D.Sankalia and M.G.Dikshit.[2] These editors also described the stele as a memorial stone of a *Satī*. Chhabra and N.Lakshminarayanarao contradicted this view and pointed out that it was a memorial stone set up by a king in memory of his deceased queen.[3] P.B.Desai, who re-edited this epigraph subsequently, upheld the opinion of Chhabra and Rao.[4] As a matter of fact Fleet had expressed the same opinion nearly hundred years back, as seen from the extract of his paper cited above. There is thus no doubt that the stele was caused by a king in memory of his departed queen.

Fleet has deciphered the name of the queen as Pālidēvi, but all the other editors have corrected it as Hālidēvi. A close serutiny of the estampages and photographs of the inscription reveals that the reading Hālidēvi is correct. It is also in keeping with the naming pattern and contents of personal names current during the early centuries of the Christian Era.

Unfortunately the letters containing the name of the king have been broken and consequently the identity and historicity of this king is still behind the curtain of obscurity. All the editors have stated that the letters of this inscription are closely akin to the Tāḷagunda inscription of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman.[5] They have assigned the inscription in question to an early Kadmba king belonging to the 5th century A.D. Sankalia and Dikshit have taken it as an evidence of the extent of the Kadamba kingdom upto Southern Maharashtra. All the editors have deciphered only the first letter of the king's name which is 'PU'. P.B. Desai has observed that there are four letters in the king's name. He tentatively suggested 'Pushpayudha' or 'Pushpadhāvaja, as the complete name; but later on he himself withdrew this inference as no such name occurs in the whole Kadamba genealogy known so far. He preferred to call the king as 'PU' from the initial letter of his name.

Due to this situation the historical contents of the Saṅgsi inscription have still remained unknown. The epigraph cannot be assigned to the Kadambas because no king of this dynasty had 'PU' as the initial letter of his name. Secondly, from the fourth to the Sixth century A.D. the Kolhapur-Belgaon region was ruled over by the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura. In this dynasty also there was no king having 'PU' as the first letter of his name.[6] After the fall of the Rāshṭrakūṭa house of Mānapura, the whole of Northern Deccan was occupied by the Chālukyas of Vātāpi. Thirdly, though Kadamba Mayūraśarman is credited with the conquest of Western Maharashtra right upto Trikūṭa and Aparānta on the evidence of the Chandravalli inscription, recently a scholar has challenged earlier reading. Even if we accept it for the sake of argument, it seems to have been a mere raid, because, except a few coins of the Kadambas, no other authentic evidence is available, indicating the inclusion of the Kolhapur region in the Kadamba kingdom.[7] Occurrence of a few coins cannot be treated as a conclusive evidence of the Kadamba jurisdiction over this region. In the light of these facts, it is proved beyond doubt that king 'PU' of the Saṅgsi inscription was not a Kadamba prince at all and that he flourished prior to the rise of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura i.e, middle of the fourth century A.D.

As a matter of fact the earlier editors have proposed fifth century A.D. as the probable date of this inscription on two main grounds, i.e. its box-headed characters and their close similarity with the letters the of Tāḷagunda inscription cited above. A minute observation of the letters of the Saṅgsi memorial inscription and their comparison with some newly discovered inscriptions reveals that, barring the boxes, the letters of this inscription are closer to the Banavāsi,[8] Vāsanā[9] and Sannati[10] inscriptions of Vāśisṭhiputra Sivaśrī Pulumāvi than the Tāḷagunda inscription. On this ground Sangsi memorial inscription will have to be assigned to the same date as that of the Banavāsi and Vāsanā inscriptions referred to above and the name of king 'PU' will have to be reconstructed as Puḷumāvi. Following are the points in favour of this conclusion:

1. The most common palaeographic characteristic between the Saṅgsi, Banāvasi and Vāsanā inscriptions is the artistic writing style of the letters in some of which an upright stroke stretches right upto the bottom and the angular curve stands affixed all towards the left. This feature palaeographically distinguishes the Saṅgsi inscription from the Tāḷagunda inscription because the writing style of the latter is more ornate and artistic which inicates the archaic nature of the Saṅgsi inscription. The curves at the bottom of the Tāḷagunda inscription are also different from that of the Saṅgsi inscription.

2. The Banvāsi inscripttion is an epitaph setup by Vāśisthiputra Śivaśri Puḷumāvi in memory of his deceased queen; so also is the Saṅgsi memorial inscription. The name of the king mentioned in the Saṅgsi inscription starts with the letter 'PU' and consists four *aksharas.* P.B.Desai has proposed the probable reading of the second letter as 'pa', whereas Sankalia and Dikshit have suggested its reading as 'lu'. The reading 'lu' seems to be more likely as seen from the vague lines of the broken letters af-

ter 'PU'. On the basis of the first two letters 'PU' and 'LU', the full name of the king will have to be reconstructed as 'Puḷumāvi' and since such a memorial stone is known to have been set up by Vāśisiṭhiputra Śivasrī Puḷumvi at Banavāsī, king 'PU" will have to identified with the same Sātavāhana king. The meteronymics Vāśishṭiputra and the epithet Śivaśri have not been recorded in the Saṅgsi inscription probably due to the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* meter in which its matter has been composed.

3. Another factor indicating the archaic nature of the Saṅgsi memorial inscription more than the Tāḷagunda inscription is the style of the sculptures carved on the stele. P.B.Desai, who has suggested 500 A.D. as the probable date of this epigraph himself states that "the sculptures of this stele are comparable stylistically on one side with the early sculptures on the stupa railings at Bharhut and Amaravati and, on the other, with that of Ajanta and Badami." On the basis of their refined execution , clarity of expresssion, wealth of minute details, general impressiveness and realistic nature, the sculptures of the Saṅgsi stele are asssignable atleast to the third century A.D. Inspite of this reality which has been noted by P.B.Desai, the inscription under study was assigned by him to the fifth century A.D. mainly because of the boxes.

4. Students of Epigraphy are well aware of the ever-changing hypotheses of notions and conceptions with regard to problems connected with epigraphic studies. The probable date of the beginning of the box-headed writing is one of such problems. At one time it was assigned to the seventh - eighth century A.D. It went on being pushed back with the discovery of new material. At present the middle of the fourth century A.D. is treated as the probable date of the commencement of this style. If the identification of king 'PU' with Puḷumāvi is accepted, the antiquity of the box-headed writing system will have to be pushed back at least by one more century. Considering the factors discussed above, the Saṅgsi memorial inscription can be ascribed to the first half of the third century A.D. inspite of its box-headed characters. V.V.Mirashi has proposed the same date to the Malhāra copperplate grant of Ādityarāha even though it is written in Sanskrit language and box-headed style.[12] Mirashi's view has been contradicted by Dr.Ajayamitra Shastri.[13] But from this example atleast we can have a reapraisal about the date of the beginning of the box-headed style. It seems to be a device applied for the ornamentation of letters. In the Banavāsi inscription cited above in place of boxes there are triangles at the top of some letters. This triangle might be the fore-runner of the box, which is of a qudrangular shape.

5. In the memorial inscription the name of the deceased queen is mentioned as Hālidēvi. This name is also suggestive of the contemporaneity of this inscription with the Sātavāhana epoch. One of the Sātavāhana kings bore the name Hāla. Common men and women of this age also named with this name content. An inscription from Kanheri belonging to the reign of Māḍharīputra Śaksēna records the gift by Hālanikā, the daughter-in-law of *gṛihapati* and merchant Vishṇunandi from Kalyāṇ in the Thane District of Maharashtra.[14] Another early Brāhmī-Prakrit inscription from the same place records the name

of *Sthavira* Hālaka.[15] It has been rightly pointed out by some scholars that the name 'Hāla' itself is a corrupt rendering of 'Sāta' which was the main content of the names of a number of Sātavāhana kings and their contemporaries. In the Banavāsi inscription the diseased queen is designated as 'Mahādevi' i.e. Chief queen. If her identification with Hālidevi of the Saṅgsi memorial inscription is accepted, besides Nāganikā and Gautamī Balaśri the name of one more Sātavāhana queen will be added to the known history of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

Divergent views have been expressed by different scholars about the date of Vāśisṭhiputra Śivaśri Puḷumāvi and his exact order in the Sātavāhana genealogy. Some scholars hold the view that there were in all four kings in the Sātavāhana dynasty having the name of Puḷumāvi[17], whereas, according to others, there were only three Puḷumāvis and Vāsisṭhiputra Śivaś rī Pulumāvi was the third and the last ruler of this dynasty who flourished during the first half of the 3rd century A.D. [18]

For a pretty long time the Myākadōṇi inscription was the only epigraphic record belonging to the reign of Pulumāvi. [19] During the last two decades three more inscriptions of Pulumāvi have come to light. These are the Banavāsi inscription of Vāśishtiputra Śivaśri Puḷumāvi, [20] the Vāsāna inscription of Vā sisthiputra Śri Puḷumāvi[21] and the Sannati inscription of Vāśishtiputra Śri Puḷumā vi[22]. These four inscriptions come from the Bellary, North Canara, Dharwad and Gulbarga districts of Karnataka respectively. If the identification of king 'PU' of the Saṅgsi inscription with Pulumāvi is accepted, it will be the fifth known inscription of this king.

While editing the Banavāsi inscription A.V.Narashimahamurthy and H.R.Raghunath Bhat attributed the epigraph to Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi, the 25th king of the Sātavāhana genealogy. Ajayamitra Shastri not only upheld this view but attributed all the coins bearing the name Vāsishṭhiputra Śivaśri Pulumāvi to the same king. According to him this Puḷumāvi was the Uterine brother of Puḷumāvi, Standing at No.24 in the Puranic genealogy and Vāsisṭhputra Sātakarni who has been given No. 24A by Pragiter. [23] This view is difficult to accept considering the naming pattern of that age. How can two sons of the same mother bear the same name? K.G.Krishnan has rightly pointed out that the Sātavāhana kings adopted the name Sātakarṇi and Puḷumāvi alternately, i.e. in succeeding generations.[24] Puḷumāvi No.25 of the Puranic genealogy must have belonged to the 2nd or 3rd generation from his name sake no. 24. There is no authentic evidence showing that he was Vāsishṭiputra. Vāsishṭiputra Śivaśri Puḷumāvi was probably the last king i.e., no. 30 of the Puranic genealogy. Following are the points in support of this presumption:

(1) Almost all the *Purāṇas* are unanimous on one point that the last king of the Sātavāhana dynasty bore the name or title Puḷumāvi.

(2) All the four inscriptions of Puḷumāvi known so far come from Northern Karnataka. If the identification of king 'PU' of the saṅgsi inscription with Puḷumāvi is accepted, this will be his fifth known inscription. Though the saṅgsi inscription comes from Maharashtra, its

provenance is very close to the northern border of Karnataka. This will indicate that under this king the Sātavāhana empire had been cut to a small size comprising the northern part of Karnataka and its adjacent parts from Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. Such a situation had occurred only at the fag end of the Sātavāhana rule,[25] because the nucleus of the Sātavāhana empire i.e. the Nasik-Paithan area of Northern Maharashtra had been occupied by Ābhīra Īśvarasēna following the end of Yajñaśrī Sātakarni's reign as revealed by the former's Nasik inscription. [26] The Ikshvākus established their independent power in Andhra Pradeh after the end of Chaṇḍa Sātakarṇi's reign.[27] The Sātavāhana kingdom had remained only to the extent of ancient Kuntaladēśa. That is why all the known inscriptions of Puḷumāvi came from this region. On this background Puḷumāvi of these inscriptions will have to be identified with the 30th king of the Sātavāhana genealogy.

(3) The identification of Puḷumāvi mentioned in the Myakadōṇi inscription with the last Sātavāhana king has been accepted by majority of the scholars. It was assigned to earlier Puḷumāvi by Sukhtankar on the basis of the reading of the reganl year as 8. Now it has been redeciphered as 6. So this problem has been sorted out.

(4) The Vāsanā inscription has rightly been ascribed to the last Puḷumāvi because palaeographically it is closer to the inscription of the later Sātavāhana king Vijaya Sātakarṇi as well as some of the inscriptions of the Ikshvāku kings of Andhra Pradesh. The deity name Chaṇḍaśiva Mahādēva is also significant as it may have been built by Chaṇḍaśri or his successor Puḷumāvi in memory of his predessor as pointed out M.J.Sharma. The Vāsanā inscription further reveals that this Puḷumāvi was a Vāśishṭhīputra.

(5) A.V.Narashimhamurthy and Raghunath Bhat have assigned the Banavāsi inscription to the latter half of the 2nd century A.D., but they themselves have pointed out that "the epigraph is more recent than the Nāsik inscription of Gautamī Balaśrī and the inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Jaggayyapēṭa". Therefore the present writer upholds the view of M.J.Sharma who has assigned both the Vāsana and Banavāsi inscriptions to the last Puḷumāvi.

(6) On the basis of the identification of king 'PU' as discussed above, the saṅgsi memorial inscription has to be assigned to the last Puḷumāvi.

(7) Palaeographically the Sannati inscription appears to be very close to all the four inscriptions of Puḷumāvi referred to above. Secondly this Puḷumāvi is a Vāsishṭhiputra. These factors as well as the provenance of the Sannati inscription of Puḷumāvi suggest that he too was the last Sātavāhana king.

The present study brings to light the following facts about the closing years of the Sātavāhana rule:

(1) During the reign of Vāśishṭiputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi, the Sātavāhana empire had been reduced to a very small size comprising the northern part of Karnataka and its bordering areas of Maharastra and Andhra Pradesh. Due to the loss of Paiṭhan and Vijayapuri, the last Sātavāhana king probably seems to have shifted the royal seat to Sannati in

the Gulbarga district of Karnataka as revealed by the excavation at this place. Banavāsi and Kolhāpura were probably the provincial headquarters where the epitaph of Puḷumāvi's diseased queen were found.

(2) Puḷumāvi probably could not check the fast disintegration of the Sātavāhana power. After seven years' rule he seems to have lost this remnant kingdom to Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi who was probably his governor at Banavāsi.

When this paper was presented at the XXth Annual Conference of the Epigraphical Society of India at Bangalore, K.V.Ramesh provided the information that recently an inscription has been reported from Karnataka which is datable to the 3rd century A.D. and which contains boxes on the top of its letters. The author is grateful to K.V.Ramesh for confirming his presumption about antidating the beginning of the box-headed style of writing.

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15. INSCRIPTIONS OF TEṈKĀŚI PĀṆḌYAS - ANALYSIS OF THE FORMAT

T.S.Mira Devi

The Teṉkāśi Pāṇḍyas left their own mark of identity in the format of their epigraphs, just as they had done in the spheres of sculpture and architecture. This paper purports to discuss the peculiar features as gleaned from an analysis of the inscriptions of Śrī.Viśvanātha temple at Teṉkāśi.

Śrī Viśvanātha temple and the Teṉkāśi town were constructed by King Parākrama Pāṇḍya, who styled himself as Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvanachakravarti Arikēśaridēva Poṉṉin Perumāḷ, Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva in his inscriptions. The events leading to the construction and the successful completion of the temple complex within a short span of 17 years between 1446 and 1462 A.D. have been vividly narrated in one of his inscriptions.[1] And there are Tamil verses praising the great achievement of the King.[2] The pious monarch did not live to see the completion of the majestic gateway of nine storeys,[3] for which the grand *adhisthāna* or basement stone had been laid by him.[4] It was his brother Aḻagan Perumāḷ Kulaśēkhara, who competed the work.[5] Further additions were made by his successors.

The epigraphical records noted in the temple provide valuable information about the reign and achievements of the Teṉkāśi Pāṇḍyas. The inscriptions cover a span of more than a hundred and fifty years, with the earliest record being that of the builder of the temple, Parākrama Pāṇḍya dated 1454 A.D.[6] and the last being that of Varaguṇa Śrī Vallabha alias Kulaśēkharaṉ dated 1615 A.D. [7]

The inscriptions of these rulers are recorded in a set pattern and style, which differs from that of the other dynasties of Tamilnadu and even that of the Pāṇḍyas of earlier period and present certain peculiarities.

Most of the inscriptions begin with the 'Maṅgala vāchaka' or benedictory words, 'Subham-astu' written in Grantha letters. A few begin with the more common form 'Svasti Śrī'.

Then follows the declaration in Sanskrit, that the one who issued the order or Śāsanam' was none other than the God himself, namely Viśvanātha and as such it is worthy of being constantly borne by the crowned heads of Gods.

'Sandhāryamētat Śatatam Samastha Suramauḷibhir Śāsanam Viśvanāthasya,' Then Lord Śiva is hailed as victorious for ever.

'Śaṁbhōrjayathi Śāśvatam'

And it is ordianed by Ādichaṇḍēśvara.

'Ādichaṇḍēsvarāgyēyam'.

This type of introduction occurs in more than half of this temple's records. But there is one instance where the record is issued in the name of Kuṟṟālanātha, the presiding deity of the Kuṟṟālanātha temple of nearby Kuṟṟālam, but worded a little differently. It reads, "Śrīmat Kuṟṟālanāthasya Śaṁbhōrjayathi Śāsanam Brahmādibhiśśirō dhāryam bhukthimukthi Pradāya-

kam".[8] Probably it was issued so because the record registers the institution of a service named after Kuṟṟālanātha, 'Tirukuṟṟālam- uḍaiyān-Śandhi'.

It may be pointed out in this context that the practice of issuing orders in the name of the presiding deity of the temple is noted in the Kuṟṟālam temple also.[9] A few inscriptions in the Chidambarēśvara temple at Puliyūr[10] and the temple at Karivalamvandanallūr[11]' are also recorded in the name of the respective presiding deities. As all the instances cited belong to the Teṉkāśi Pāṇḍya rulers it is evidence that this formed a peculiar characteristic of their epigraphical format. Perhaps[19] these rulers required the support of divine power to establish their identity and maintain their authority, even if it were over a small region only.

In the section coming next, the year is given in the Śaka era, along with regnal year. One record gives a chronogram[12]. Two records of Būtala vīra Rāmavarma of Jeyatuṅga-nāḍu are dated in Kollam era[13]. The Pāṇḍyan practice of recording regnal years in terms of double dates like 39 opposite 7[14] *(muppathoṇḍṟāvadinedir eṭṭāvadu)* is noticed in some records only. These are followed by astronomical details of the day.

The most striking feature of these records is the mode of presentation of the contents of the order. True to the introductory declaration that it is the order of Lord Viśvanātha himself, it is worded as though the deity is issuing the orders directly. The King's name is introduced with the epithet our son *'nam kumāraṉ' Arikēsaridēvaṉ Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva.*[15] or *"Namkumāraṉ Mṛigasīrshattu Jātan āna Arikēsari Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēvan,* [16], or as in the subsequent records suffixing the name of the father of the King as, *'nam kumāraṉ......*

Śrī Perumāḷ Abhirāma Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva nandanar āṉa Śrī Perumāḷ Kulaśēkharadēvaṉ Parākrama Pāṇḍya dēvṉ.[17] It is stated that the edict is issued by the deity on being requested by the King to do so, as *'nammuḍaṉnam kumāraṉ chollugaiyil*[18] or being asked to issue the order, after getting the King's document - *"nam kumāraṉ Kulaśēkharadēvaṉ...... taṉ ōlaiyum kuḍuttu nammuḍaiya ōlaiyum kuḍukka vēṇum eṟa chollugaiyil....* Another record registered in the name of the king corroborates this fact - *Chaṇḍēśura pramāṇangaḷ kuḍuttu aruḷa vēṇum eṉṟu Uḍaiyār Viśvanāthanukku viṇṇappam cheydu"* [20]

The temple is referred to as our temple – *'nam ālayam*[21] the temple servants as *"nam parigarattar"*[22] and the temple accountant as *'nam ālaya kaṇakku*[23]

One interesting record mentions that the order was issued by the deity while he was seated along with his consort, *"nāmum nam Gauriyuḍan irundu.* [24]

The usual instruction that the order be engraved on copper and stone, *"chembilum śilaiyilum veṭṭi"* is followed by the attestation by a number of accountants, nearly seven or eight categories. The final endorsement is by Ādi Channḍēśvara *"Ādi Chaṇḍēśvaraṉ eḻttu"* not by Chaṇḍēśvara as in the case of the records of other dynasties.

A few records end with the term *'tulyam* implying that it is a copy of the original.[25]

There is only one record incorporat-

ing imperfection on those who violate the terms of the order. [26]

Apart from these deviations and special features in the format of inscriptions, certain other peculiarities may be pointed out.

Except for the two records of Būtalavīra Ṟamavarma, cited earlier, all the lithic records of the temple belong to the Teṉkāśi Pāṇḍya rulers only. There is not even a single record of a Vijayanagar or Nayak ruler, implying that the town was the seat of power of the Pāṇḍyas, who deserved the appellation. 'Teṉkāśi Pāṇḍyas'.

Next, it is noted that the '*meykīrtti*' was not given importance by the rulers of the earlier period. Only one record of Parākrama Pāṇḍya bears his famous meykīrtti "*Pūmiśai Vaṉitai*"[27] Again, we come across the use of *praśasthi* only in the records of Ativīrarāma of later period.[28] Some of the subsequent rulers have used high sounding epithets.

The Teṉkāśi records include a number of verses written in beautiful Tamil. They are mostly laudatory in nature. Two of them give details regarding the construction of the temple complex,[29] while two other glorify Parākrama Pāṇḍya, [30] the builder of the temple. Few others refer to the coronation of the later rulers, held at the temple.[31]

But the finest of them is the touching appeal of Parākrama Pāṇḍya for the preservation and maintenance of the temple and his proclamation of reverential homage to those who take up such a considerate and sacred task.[32] This has no parallel at all. Indeed it seems to have touched the chord of response even after a lapse of more than five hundred years. For thanks to the munificence of philanthropists of the land of the Pāṇḍyas, the damaged gōpura was reconstructed and was consecrated in June, 1990. And the magnificient monument stands as a mute testimony to the glory of the Teṉkāśi Pāṇḍyas.

Notes and References

1. A.R.Ep., 1909, No.531
2. *Ibid.*, 1912, No.4
3. *Ibid.*, 1909, No.506
4. *Ibid.*, No. 511
5. *Ibid.*, No. 514
6. *Ibid.*, No. 521
7. *Ibid.*, 1917, No. 514
8. *Ibid.*, No. 507
9. *Ibid.*, Nos. 420, 423, 450, 458, 462, 466 and 474
10. *Ibid.*, No. 397
11. *Ibid.*, 1908, Nos.273 and 274

12. *Ibid.*, 1917, No.507
13. *Ibid.*, Nos. 517 and 576
14. *Ibid.*, No. 535
15. *Ibid.*, No. 518
16. *Ibid.*, No. 507
17. *Ibid.*, No. 536
18. *Ibid.*, No. 522
19. *Ibid.*, No. 523
20. *Ibid.*, 1912, No. 14
21. *Ibid.*, 1909, No. 524
22. *Ibid.*, 1917, No. 518
23. *Ibid.*, No. 516
24. *Ibid.*, No. 518
25. *Ibid.*, 1912, Nos. 2, 4, 9 and 13;
    Ibid., Nos. 502-03, 517, 529 and 541.
26. *Ibid.*, 1909, No. 531
27. *Ibid.*, 1912, No.4
28. *Ibid.*, 1917, Nos. 500, 532, 545, 598, 550, 586, 583 and 602
29. *Ibid.*, 1909 Nos. 507 and 511
30. *Ibid.*, Nos. 510 and 513
31. *Ibid.*, Nos. 509, 512, 516 and 517

16. A HERO-STONE INSCRIPTION FORM JAMBĀNE: A NOTE

H.R.Raghunath Bhat

A hero-stone inscription was discovered during my explorations at Jambāne in Sagar taluk, Shimoga dist, Karnataka[1]. Being a Chālukya-Āḷupa *grāma*, Jambāne has not only yielded so far, an epigraph of the period of Āḷupa Chitravāhana (7th century A.D.)[2], but also has over a dozen hero-stones, about thirty five *nāga* stones, four Śivālayas and a Śākta temple. All these indicate that it was an ancient Vīragrāma known for local heroism and sacrifice[3]. It is against this background that the significance of a recently discovered hero-stone inscription is summarised here:

The Jambāne *vīragal*, (80x150 cms) has on its three panels twenty five lines Kannaḍa, dated Champū Śāsana. This is directly associated with three boldly sculpured panels-representing the terrific battle, heroic death and the immortalization of the local hero. The portraiture of the hero, Goggi in three different moods is fascinating. In the lower most panel, he is depicted as fighting with bow and arrow with the enemies, who are on the horses. Here we notice the sculptor's adoptation of theory of centrifugality. The hero is represented in blown up scale when compared to those of enemies. The hero or Vīra - Goggi in the middle panel is being depicted as taken to heaven (*svargārōhaṇa*) by seven celestial nymphs. Interestingly the hero and the nymphs are sculptured in the same scale-unlike the bottom panel. The top panel or the 'headpiece' represents that hero is seated in the extreme right side in *padmāsana* with folded hand in front of a decorated Śiva liṅga begin worshipped by a Śaiva priest. On the extreme left side is shown a cow with a suckling calf. On the top are depicted the sun and the moon. Anybody who has seen a number of hero stones of early medieval Karnataka, may remark immediately that it is a regular or usual type, what is special in it? But a careful sutdy of both epigraphical and plastic contents would evoke further interest and curiosity. Our focus of attention is both on the epigraphical contents and plastic art.

This is a well written and well preserved lithic record of the time of the Kalyāṇa Chāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI, who has been conventionally eulogised as: 1: *Samastha bhuvanāśraya*, 2:*Śrī Prithvīvallabha*, 3: *Paramēśvara*, 4: *Paramahaṭṭāraka*, 5. *Satyāśrayakulatilaka*, 6: *Chāḷukyābharaṇa*, and 7: *Śrīmat Tribhuvanamalla Permāḍidēva.*

Then the epigraph refers in only one line, to a well known *Daṇḍanāyaka* Gōvindamayya or Gōvindarasa as governing 'Hadimūrusāsira' division (13,000 - divsion).

It was at that time, i.e., in 36th Vikramakāla, Nandana saṁvat, Kārttika bahuḷa pañchami, Ādityavāra which regularly corresponds to Sunday 10th November 1112, that Hāṅgal Kadamba king Kīrtidēva's army attacked, burnt down and plundered Sāntaḷige, Guttināḍu, Barivūru garden and Malige. All these contextual or background information have been briefed in a matter of fact style, in just eight lines, whereas over sixteen lines and almost the double that space have been devoted to the

description of the local heroes Arjuna Gauda and Goggi. The description is not only graphic but highly poetic. It is in this part of the epigraph that we get details of the family history of Arjuna Gauda, his father Jakka Gauḍa and mother Jakkiyabbe Gōviti. All these details are significant and useful from the point of view of local history or micro-history.

But the socio-economic importance of the inscription lies in the fact, that *Jambāne Vṛitti* given to Goggi in recognition of his heroic act and sacrifice was appropriated by his brother-in-law Arjuna Gauḍa of Jambāne, his wife and Goggi's sister Akkiyabbe Gōviti in a rather subtle or sophisticated way. It is essentially due to this economic consideration that our official, illustrated lithic document had been erected by Arjuna Gauḍa, whereas his wife and Goggi's sister, got it composed with great affection and sentimental attachment to her brother.

Equally interesting is the literary flavour or style of the record. The graphic description of the war and its after effect, some of the local usages like Gōviti are also interesting from the point of view of socio-linguistic analysis. This is of course regular to the early medieval period of Kannaḍa literary history. But more than this, it is of geographical importance as we get, probably, for the first time a geographical division with a numerical appendage *Hadimūrusāsira* or '13,000'. Its exact identification and interpretation is still under consideration and study. Whether it is related to Banavāsi-12000 plus Sāntalige-1000 (the clues for which are given in the epigraph while mentioning Sāntalige nucleus of Sāntalige-1000) and Guttinā-ḍu in Banavāsi- maṇḍala? However, it cannot be Banavāsi-12000 alone nor it was engraved by mistake ('13000' instead of '12000').

Whether it is indicative of *Hadimūru sāsira* i.e., 'Hadi-3000' or while mentioning the geographical division the known place-name is left out? Other than this division, we get over half a dozen place-names. All of them have been identified in Sagar-Soraba area in Shimoga district.

1. Sāntaḷige - Hosgunda area (Sagar)
2. Guttināḍu - famous Chandragutti (Sagar -Soraba)
3. Barivūru - Barūr (Sagar)
4. Jaṁbāni - Jambāne (Sagar)
5. Nadaḷḷi - Nadahaḷḷi (Soraba)
6. Palugoḍu - Padavagōḍi (Soraba)
7. Malige - Mallige (Mattige-Sagar)
8. Basaru - Basūr (Soraba)

In conclusion we may state as follows:

1. This is one of the well preserved and well written or composed Champu-śāsana of the time of Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127).

2. It represents a good example for the appropriation of the property or *grāma-vṛitti* by the relatives of the hero of the inscription (Goggi). It throws useful light on the socio-economic condition of early medieval Karnataka.

3. It is unique in so far as it mentions the geographical division with the number-13,000 which is still an enigma.

4. It is in this epigraph that we get details of the local heroes and their heroism within the limited space of the hero stone slab and here its utility of relevance to the regional

or local history.

5. The sculptural panel or scheme is equally majestic and the plastic vocabulary supplements to the poetic description of the epigraph.

In one word, the socio-cultural history as well as art-history of several minor dynasties like the Hāṅgal Kadambas or feudatory chieftains like Gōvindamayya, local *nāḍāprabhus* like Arjuna Gauḍa, local heroes like Goggi can be better known mainly from the memorial stones of their own contemporary period.

TEXT[5]

1. Svasti samasta - bhuvanāśrayaṁ śrī pṛithvīvallabham mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka satyā -

2. śryakulatilakaṁ Chāḷukyābharaṇam Śrīmat Tribhuvanamalla Permmā ḍidāvara vijaya

3. sājyābhivṛiddhi pravardhamāna (māna) Chandrārkkatārambaram saluttamire samasta (praśasti)

4. sahitam śrī Maddadaṇāyakam Gōvinda mayyanal Hadimūru Śāsira manāvḷaru

5. Śrīmanmahāmaṇḍalēśvaram Kadamba Kīrtti dēvara piriya paḍevalam Goravīra

6. Vikramakālada 36 neya Nandana saṁvastsarada Kārtika bahu

7. ḷa Pañchamiyādivāradandu Sāntaḷige Gottināḍellamam suṭṭu suregoṇḍu Barivūra tōṭama kaḍi

8. du Māḷigeyaṁ suḍuvalli vṛittait tadēneṇandireḷ naḍidaḍa aribhūpanri pāḷēar ette bennittaḍ aveṁnīśam.

9. kiḍugu āḍirad-arjjuna - gauḍaneyadi perehuttiradiṭṭatāge raṇadoḷa Kauimeyduna Goggi billoḷāḻ dettida

10. konda meṇḍaridāytu raṇam kali Goggigāṅkanoḷu taṇiyade tāne bandu Bariyūrane suṭṭapanu

11. vākūgu kūgene rabhasakke *Jambaṅiya Goggiga nāḻdese raktadhāre churṟane maruḷāḻdu berṟemene kūrasi.*

12. Pundene khaṇḍadiṇḍidoppane palarōtu jīyane kaṟutiṟidu raṇaraṅga Bhairava

13. vachana antu samyadaṁ meredappidantēka vidadam kaṇḍu Jambaniyarjjuna - gāvuṇḍam Nāḍahaḷḷiyaṁ kāvenendu -

14. nnal makkaḷverasu Bosaṟevaraṭṭi seṟeyum tuṟuvumam tammagurehehi taleyaṁ koṇḍu bandu taṁnna

15. pratāpamam Śrī mān mahāmam ḍalēśvaram Tribhuvanamalla Kāvadēvaranahaḷḷi gaṭṭidāgaḷ matte kaṇḍu

16. Kattalkerasi Seṭṭigevuttida Nama shiseṭṭiya tanuja tam kattidalagi nol enturaka man ettitaguld iridu.

17. meṭṭi dhareyol biḻdo| sangaravanga doḷiṟiva beḍaṅga pesar nnegaḷe kirttigaṁ batavalam piṅgade

18. maraḷchi sarasvanitaṅganera nolisidam jagemechhuvinam ayaguḷisida

Kīrttiga naḷmoggalinia

19. dettikade kolgulamam pokkoggalisikodanadimagayagade telegotta Goggi-saggadoḷiṟdo

20. Jitēna labhyatē lakshmi mṛitēnāpi surāṅganā kshama vidvaṁaśini kāye kāchintā maraṇeraṇe

21. vṛitta manamosedakkarinde padedamgada Jambaniyemba vṛittiyam tānagadu sāmyamāge paḷu

22. gōḍu manaḷprabhu Jakkagāuṇantana satiyappa jakkiyabbe govitigan sale putti

23. dam kulōdhavaneniparjjunam nirisida kali Goggiga kalla noḷpiniṁ kanda

24. ene negaḷd Arjjuna - gauṇḍan ava ni-tānidhia Akkyyabbe gōviti tannim manad-aḷalu- pōpi

25. naṁ tammane kīrttiyan neseye kabbadim baseyisidaḷu

Notes and References

1. I am happy to acknowledge the help rendered by the villagers, of Jambāne and for the valuable suggestions given by Prof.S.H.Ritti and Dr.K.V.Ramesh.
2. *JESI.*, V (1978)
3. See *MAR*, 1930, Nos. 56, 57A. *EC* VIII Sa., 16,17,18,19,20
4. Numerical Terrestrial Divisions in Karnataka, *JPNSI*, Vol. II pp.64 ff.
5. From ink impressions.

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17. LAND CONTROL AND LAND OWNERSHIP IN MEDIEVAL PANDYA TIMES OF TAMILNADU

P. Chandrasekaran

Introduction

Modern Theories on Land - System in Pre - British Times : -

There are three theories regarding the land system in the Pre-British Tamil Nadu from the early Ninth to early Nineteenth Century. The first theory was propounded by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri. It states that the ordinary agricultural land was owned by peasant proprietorship in his work The Cōḷas, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri states, that "individual ownership of land was clearly recognised also, and numberless instances of alienation by sale of gift of the absolute proprietorship of the soil by individuals and of the inheritance of such property from father to son in the normal course can be gathered from the inscriptions".[1] While K.A. Nilakanta Sastri made his statement in general, Karashima categorized that idea in clear cut terms. According to him while individual ownership of property was prevalent in *Brahmadēya* villages, communal ownership of property prevailed in *Veḷḷānvagai* villages during the early times of the Chōḷa period. But "in late Chōḷa times, individual or family ownership came to be prevailed".[2]

Against the theory of peasant ownership, American scholars like Burton Stein, Kenneth R. Hall emphasised that there was no ownership of land in pre-British times. Instead of 'owning' land was ruled or controlled.[3] Thus they denied the existence of land ownership in the modern sense. To quote R.Hall, "while it is by no means clear that land was owned in the modern sense it is indisputable that rights to share of a land's produce could be bought and sold during Cola times".[4] According to him only the right to share of land's produce was purchased and sold and not the land itself.

While one theory considers the existence of modern land rights system in the Chōḷa period, another theory totally rejects this. In between the two opposing ideas expressed in these two theories, there is also another theory in terms of feudalism. L.B. Alayev mentions that there were different kinds of peasants like tilling cultivator (*Kuḍi*) tenant (*Kārāṇmai*) and land possessor (*Uḍaiyān*).[5]

Of the four scholars mentioned above K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, a specialist in epigraphical knowledge seems to have applied the canon of the modern land system categories like the landlord, land holder, tenant, and cultivator to the distant past period of the Chōḷas. No doubt there must be some substantial differentiation in view about the land and the others between Indian thinking and European thinking. Hence there must be some errors in K.A.Nilakanta Sastri's assessement about the land - system in the Chōḷa period. On the other hand, the idea of native theory applied by the west-

ern scholars is more reliable in the historical analysis. However, there are some doubts in it. Although the land control concept is acceptable, our question is did these happen only on the transfer of the rights to the shares of the produce and not anything more than that. In this context the idea expressed by L.B. Alayev seems to be more close to the reality than that of the other two, because it contains both the ideas of land ownership and land control. But there may be some doubts about certain points even in his statement. For instance his identification of *Kāṇiyāḷar*, and *Uḍaiyān* as two separate stratum of land holders or peasant proprietors is subject for discussion.

Problem of this Article :

In this article I will discuss only one question. What type of idea did prevail in Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century Tamil Nadu about the land system.

Analysis :

Firstly land in Medieval Pāṇḍya times does not mean only the cultivated area alone. It included the other areas also. The following records indicate the above. An inscription[6] issued in the period of Sundara Pāṇḍya records that not only the cultivated land *(Vilainilam)* was sold, but also river bed, groves, house site and in village Nattam. Another inscription[7] in its allottment of land to the brahmins mentions that there were black land, *(Karuñchey)* dry land *(Puñchey)*, garden *(Tōṭṭam)* pond *(Kuḷam)* and the adjacent portion of pond *(Kulaparappu)*.

If the land in pre-British times included not only the cultivated area, but also the other areas like house sites, and other irrigated facilities, a question arises : Did at those times happen only in the transfer of right to share of the land's produce, as stated by western scholars? In this aspect, the following two records may be analysed. An inscription from Śrīraṅgam.[8] records that the superintendent and first accountant of the Vaishṇava temple sold lands to another individual brahmin. They sold the garden, wells, and trees. What is implied in the above sale is not the mere right of share of produce to the garden but the actual garden itself. Another record from Śrīraṅgam records[9] that an individual who donated the garden lands for the temple, purchased 800 and 700 *Kuḷi* extent of land at two places. Both of them were unclutivated land *(tarisu)*. If at all this deed indicates that the purchaser bought only the right to the share of land's produce, there is no need for the purchaser to purchase the right to the share of land's produce in dry lands. Moreover it is mentioned in the above deed that the above land pieces were purchased for the subsistance of two agricultural labourers. Thus the two records indicate that the people in those times perceived the land and its allied resources as a separate commodity which could be purchased and sold. All these happened not in terms of purchase and sales, but in terms of gift. The king, or the chieftain, or the *Nāṭṭār*. or communal assembly had transferred their rights to collect share in the produce of a land. We need not go in detail in this process as we are concerned only about the question of land ownership and land control. In the previous

analysis, it has been established that in pre-British times land and its allied resources were defintely considered as property and were sold and purchased.

But the land was not considered as mere property which could be only sold and purchased. More than the property, land area was considered as sovereignty by the owner. In short, land was ruled and not merely owned. In this regard we shall examine some records.

An inscription found at Tiruppunavāśal Tanjore District issued in the 21st year of Sundarapāṇḍya Dēvar records the sale deed made by the temple priests of Dēvadānam Tirupunavāyil. They sold five house sites, and 30 *ma* of extent land to one individual. The temple priests on receipt of money sold the lands. They sold not only the mere extent of land, but also other natural resources like wells, ponds, and channel. Further, the temple authorities mention that this land would be exempted from taxes like *kaḍamai* and *kuḍimai.* As the temple had given tax exemption, it is understood that the temple collected taxes or dues from the produce of the land. Normally the temple as a owner should have collected the rent of the produce. In addition to the rent, it collected the taxes. This collection of taxes or dues indicate that the land was considered not as a mere property but also as a sphere of sovereignity. Actually the inscriptional word *Āḷapperuvārgaḷāgavum* means to rule over the land indicates the sovereignity of the land. The same idea is found in another record of the same village.

An inscription issued in the 13th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya records that an individual by name Kāliṅgarāyar had built a shrine. He possessed a village by name Araiyattūr. It was a herditary property *(Kāṇi)* to him. An order came from the king mentioning that the taxes like *Kaḍamai* and *Antarāyam* which had been collected and remitted by *Nāḍu* was now diverted to the temple. The village holder should enjoy the village as *kārāṇkiḻamai.*

By the examination of the above information the following points are discernible.

1. An individual possessed one village and it was called *kāṇi* i.e, permanent property.
2. That Owner collected some dues *Kaḍamai* and *Kuḍimai* and remitted to the communal Assembly or *Nāḍu.*
3. The king who took share in the dues or tax - collection ordered his share to be assigned to the temple.
4. As the individual lost his power to collect the taxes and the revenue, it was stated that he should enjoy the land as *Kārāṇkiḻamai.* i.e., organiser of cultivation.

In short the land ruler who so far received dues should remit those dues to the temple, and he should remain only as the receiver of normal rent of the land.

Thus land in pre - British times was not only owned, but also ruled or controlled by the owner of the land. In

this regard an interesting question riseas, "why the concept of rulership prevailed rather than the concept of ownership" ?. This is easily understandable. It is already noted that land in pre-British times denoted not merely the cultivated area alone, but also other natural resources like pond, house site, garden and other. Hence, one who possessed all this exercised some power over the others who did not possess any of them.

Conclusion

Land in pre-British times denotes not a mere cultivated area alone, but also the natural resources like river bed, pond and channels. It was not a mere property to the owner. The owner of the land exercised some control over the others who did not possess. Thus, land rights in pre-British times is neither African land tenure and nor feudal land tenure but a combination of them.

Notes and References

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3. Burton Stein, *Peasant State and society in Medieval South India,*(1980) New Delhi. Kenneth R.Hall *Trade and Statecraft in the age of Cōḷas,* (1984) New Delhi.
4. Kenneth R. Hall *Ibid.*, p 23.
5. Alayev L.B, "The system of land rights in Southern India (900-1300 A.D)" *Proceedings of fifth International Conferance - Seminar of Tamil Studies,* pp. 14-15. (1981)
6. *Ibid.*, Vol VIII, No. 591
7. *Ibid.*, Vol V, No. 446
8. *Ibid.*, XXIV, No. 232
9. *Ibid.*, Vol VIII, No. 21
10. *Ibid.*, Vol VII, No. 213
11. *Ibid.*, No. 212

18. A NOTE ON THE "PĀNAGAL INSCRIPTION OF SEUṆA (YĀDAVA) SĀRANGAPĀṆIDĒVA" dated: Ś.1189 A.D.1267

N.S.Ramachandra Murhty

The inscription under study is engraved on a stone pillar, lying in the court- yard of Chhāya Sōmanātha svāmy temple, Panagal, in Nalgonda district, A.P. The present study is based on the text originally published[1] in *Corpus Inscriptions of Telingana District, HAS* 13.

There are a total of 99 lines of writing engraved on three faces of the pillar with 41, 35 and 22, on 1st 2nd and 3rd respectively. The record is bilingual, comprising of 15 Sanskrit verses from lines 1 to 41, and Telugu prose from lines 42 to 86 followed by imprecatory verses from lines 87 to 99.

The record dated Ś.1189, Prabhava, Adhika Jyēsṭa, (week day wrong) 25th May, A.D.1267 falls in the reign of Kākatīya queen Rudramadēvi (A.D. 1262-1289).

In the first part, i.e. Sanskrit portion, the inscription begins with salutations to Lord Vighnēśvara and Varāha. It then extols the greatness of the family of the Kākatīyas and furnishes their genealogy begining from Prōla, his son Mahadēva, his son Gaṇapati and his daughter Rudramadēvi. After this it turns to eulogise the family of Yādavas, in which were born Bhillamadēva, who was equal to Indra by his resplendant wealth *(bhāsvad vibhavāmarādhipah)* his son Jaitugadeva, the best among the kings, who shone as an ocean of the gems of resplendant qualities and who was a support to those who sought refuge *(rarāja rājad guṇaraina-vārdhih*, and *adhārabhūtah śaraṇāgatānām)*, his son Siṁghaṇadēva of well known name and fame, who obscured Karṇa by his gifts of gold, gems and land *(prasiddha nāma vidita pratāpḥ, vasuṅdharāshṭapada dāna tiraskrītāṁbhheruha baṅdu sūnuḥ)* and who was illustrious with all qualities (*sakalaguṇa viśālah*) whose son was, sā(m)rnāpaṇidēva, who was a lion to the elephants of the enemy king *(prati nṛipati Karīndra Kēsari Jayati*), famed as the *kalpa* tree in giving objects desired by the world *(Jagadhibmata-phala vitaraṇa brumdāraka bhūruha khyātah*), who was the son of Śrī Tanudasamadēvi, the crest among kings *(mānavapati-ehūḍāmaṇih)* and believed of the lady of martial glory *(Samara Śrī Sundarī Subhagah)*.

Thus after eulogising the greatness of the two royal families i.e. Kākatīya and Seuṇa and furnishing their genealogies, the record, registers the gift of 12 *nivartanas* of land for the *aṅga-raṅga bhōga* of the God Śrīchhaya Sōmanātha by the King Śa(m)rnapāṇideva.

The second part of the record i.e. Telugu portion contains the *praśasti* of the reigning king, Kākatīya Manuma Rudradēva Maharaju, i.e. Rudramadevi and Prōdha- Pratāpachakravarti Śri śa(m)rnapāṇidēva, and enumerates a number of epithets by him, the lord of Panugallu. It then furnishes the details of the grant and date of the record. The *praśasti* is almost identical with those of the Yādava rulers, which runs as *"adyēha samasta bhuvanāśraya pṛithvidēva vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara, paramabhaṭṭa-*

raka, Dvārayatipuravarādhīśvara, Vishṇuvaṁsōdbhava, Yādava kula kamala, kalika vikāsa bhāskara apratimalla nd ahitarāya urah śala" etc. As regards the epithets, the record enumerates at least 12, which runs as follows 1) *Udbhaṭṭa varāṭa bhūpati* (a spear in the heart of the enemy kings and who uprooted the lord of vāraṭa) 2) *Kokalladēva-girīṁdra nirdaḷam* (an Indra to the great king of Kokalladēva) 3) *Uddaṇḍa dīpti manḍala kulasi dharākhaṇḍala* (one who obtained the kingdom by fighting). Like Indra with Vajra. 4) *Kimiḍi Kshoṇidvallabha* (Lord of the country of Kimiḍi) 5) *Jājalladēva Karighaṭasamghaṭṭana* (who crushed the elephant corpse of Jājalladēva) 6) *Prārjya rājya Turuhkōpa plava mēdinī samud dharaṇa mahāvarāha* (the great Bear incarnation in lifting the earth out of the Muhammadan deluge) 7) *Giridurga madurgga praṁāla nilaya* (who made the great inaccessible hill fort of Pannala as his seat). 8) *Bhōjarāja bhūpala vyāla vidrāvana vihaṁga rāja* (who was the incarnation of Garuḍa to the serpent named king Bhōja). 9) *Gūrjara rāya vāraṇāṁkuśa* (a goad to the elephant of the king of Gurjara). 10) *Mālavīyamāna marddana* who crushed the honour of the king of Malawa). 11) *Gaṁbhīrabhira prachaṁda Paṅḍara Lakśhmīdēva vaṁsāvali vana dahana dāvānala)* (who was a wild fire to the fierce Ābhira Paṁdāra Lakshmīdēva)etc.

The main points of interest in the present record are firstly it contains an epithet *"Prārājya rajya Turuhkōpa playa Mēdini samuddharaṇa mahāvarāha"*, perhaps alluding to a conflict with the Muslim for the first time in Deccan. Secondly the record also furnishes several other epithet which seems to refer to a number of military expeditions. Thirdly the record furnishes the name of the mother of *Śaranngāpāṇidēva*, the donor which helps us to examine his claims to the Imperial family.

Now to take up first for examination the identity of Sāraṅgapāṇidēva, the record mentions three members before him i.e. his father Siṁghadēva, his grand father Jaitugi, and great grand father Bhillama. This genealogy tallies with the one provided by Hemadri[2] and other records accepted by historians. But unfortunately Sāraṅgapāṇidēva was ignored altogether in the Yādava genealogy whereas the present record uneqauivocally mentions him as the son of Siṁgha through his wife Śrī Tanu Dasamādēvi (11.35. *Siṁhgamadēva tanūja* and *Śrī Ranu Dasamadēvi, tanayath*). In this connection attention may be drawn to an inscription which gives the name of Siṁhgana's queen as Jētadēvi and describes him as *Jētadēvi manōramah*[3]. Through her he had a son by name Jaitugi, who predeceased him. Altekar expresses a doubt "whether Jaitugi had any brothers we do not know".[4] Here comes to our aid another inscription from Tilivalli,[5], Hangal taluk, Dharwar Dist., Karnataka dated in Ś. 1160 A.D. 1239 i.e. during the regin of Siṁhana, which furnishes almost the same *praśasti* and enumerates identical epithets as in the present record. From a close examination of both the records it becomes clear, that Sāraṅgapāṇidēva, was a younger son of Siṁhana II through his wife Śrī Tanu Dasamādēvi. But Ritti brushes him aside as one belonging to a collateral branch of the main line. For this, he takes into account the mistaken genealogy furnished by the two

Hirekogilur records[7] dated Ś.1190, A.D. 1209 pertaining to the first two members i.e. his grand father and great grand father which he calls as faulty. While it is true that the order of the first two members is reversed, it is not the case with his father Siṁhana. Further it is difficult to understand why he ignores the correct genealogy provided by the present record and supported by two other inscriptions i.e. Tilivalli[8] and Hirikogiluru. As regards the identity of the names of his predecessors with those of Seuṇa kings and the fact that he bore all the titles of Siṁhana as mainly due to his close family connections with the main line,[9] seems to be untenable, for the similarity in respect of *paraśasti* adopted by a colleteral member can be understood, but it can not be the case with regard to the epithets. Moreover instances are lacking to prove that any member of a collateral branch ever claimed direct descent from the reigning king, ignoring his own parantage and that too citing the name of his mother along side the imperial king. The close similarity between the *paraśastis* and the epithets enumberated in the present record and the record of Tilivalli proves beyond any doubt that Sāraṅgapāṇdēva was an younger son of Siṁhana, who probably took active part in his father's expedition to North and Central India and thus inherited all the epithets from his father. As regards the absence of his place in the Yādava genealogy, it may be pointed out that following the death of his elder brother Jaitugi II during the life time of his father Siṁhana II. Sāraṅgapāṇidēva must have nourished ambitions for the throne. But after death of his father in A.D.1247 when he was not favoured for the throne, there was a civil was between Sāraṅgapāṇidēva and his nephews Kannāra are Kṛishṇa and Mahādēva failed and was driven out. This seems to gain support from the expression *"Lilōmūita -rāshṭra kaṁṭaka-chamu-chakram"*,[10] which probably hints at the driving away of Sāraṅgapāṇivdeva, who was like a thorne to the state which along with the circle of enemies, was removed by Kamāra. Following his defeat at the hands of his nephew Kamīra and Mahādēva, Sāraṅgapāṇidēva migrated to the nieghbouring Kātkatīya kingdom took refuge there.

Regarding the date of his migration, N.Venktaramarayya and Somasekhara Sarma, opined that Sāraṅgapāṇidēva took part in Yādava Mahadēvas attack against Warangal, in which he seized the fort of Panugallu and was unwilling to surrender it and retreat to his native kingdom even after the defeat of Mahadēva.[11] Finally, according to the same scholar, "finding it impossible to held it for long he decided to acknowledge the authority of Rudramadēvi and continued to remian as a vassal ruling over panugal".[12] P.V.P.Sastry also expresses the same opinion when he says "Sāraṅgapāṇidēva, due to his differences with Mahadēva sought asylum in the Andhra country and obtained fief by the grace of Rudrama"[13] But the fact appears to be that Sāraṅgapāṇidēva, who was a brave and valourous soldeir, could not have stayed in the Yādava kingdom for a prolonged period of about 15 yeras i.e., the till reign of Mahadēva. On the other hand finding his place insecure in the Yādava kingdom, he must have taken the earliest opportunity to migrate to the Kākatīya kingdom during

the time of Gaṇapatidēva between A.D. 1247 and 1250 and continued to remian in the Kākatīya court. Afterwards Rudramadēvi, for reasons of political expediency, appointed Sāraṅgapāṇidēva as Lord of Panugallu. Probably with Sāraṅgapāṇidēva must have come another Yādava chief Viśvamāhamādāraju, who clims Yādava descent and bears some epithets found in the present record.[14] Yet another inscription at Elesvaram dated A.D. 1250 records a gift land by a certain Sāmbaśiva Paṇḍita who was a *Mahāpradhāni Sarvādhikāri* of Siṁghamadēva,[15] for the merit of his master.

The next important problem that confients us is the occurrence of the epithet *Prārājya rājya Turahkōpaplaye Mēdibī Samuddharaṇa Mahāvarāha* (11. 65-66) in the present record. For reasons not known the record though cited by several writers on the subject, yet the epithet did not receive the due attention it deserved. Apparently the epithet occuring for the first time in the inscriptions of medieval Deccan, alludes to a war or conflict between the Yādava and the Muslims. But the earliest known Muslim expedition against Deccan i.e Dēvagiri took place in A.D. 1296 during the time of Rāmachandradēva by Mālik Garhāsp, nephew and son-in-law of Jalal-ud-din Khilji.[16] Similarly the earliest Muslim invasion against Tiling i.e. Warangal was in A.D.1303-04[17]. but the occurrence of the present epithet in the record under study seems to push back the date of Muslim invasion against Deccan, to as early as A.D.1267. Then we have to examine the circumstances in which Sāraṅgapāṇidēva came to acquire the above epithet, probably in his father Siṁhana's expeditions in North and Central India i.e., against the kingdoms of *Lāṭa, Mālawa* and *Gūrjara* for, according to Venktaramaraya, "although the Musalman power was firmly established in Northern India since the days of Mohd. Ghor, no attept was made by the Muslim monarchs to expand their sway over the Deccan, and extreme south of the Peninsula until the closing years of 13th century A.D.[18] Here comes to our aid once again the record from Tilivalli, Hangal Taluk, Dharwar District Karnataka dated in Ś.1160 i.e A.D. 1239, belonging to Siṁhana II[19] This record furnishes almost the same *praśasti*, and enumerate identical epitets *Turushka-kōpa-praḷaya- mahārnava magna-mēdini- samuddharaṇa, mahāvarāha* (line 10)" which differs slightly from the epithet borne by his son Sāraṅgapāṇidēva, as seen in the present record. Other epithets also are almost identical with few variations. From this, it appears that Siṁgahna came in the clash with the Muslim forces during his campaigns against North and Central India. According to the Patna inscription[20] dated A.D.1206, the rulers of Mathura and Benaras reliased the menace of Yādava power and felt its heavy hand and that one Siṁhaṇa's lesser generals defeated a Muslim ruler. but according to Altekar specifically said to have been defeated by some obscure general Siṁhaṇa.[21] The same writer further says 'the record probably refers to some border skirmishes which might have taken place, while the armies of Siṁhaṇa lay encamped in Mālawa and Gujarat.[22] Siṁhaṇa II, during this time finding the unstable political climate pre-

vailing in North and Central India due to internal quarrels among the rulers of Lāṭa, Mālawa and Gujrat, perhaps led his armies against them and began vanquishing them one after another and assumed the long string of epithets mentioned in his Tilivalli record.[23] During this period the Gūrjaras and Pāramāras in the North were subjected to frequent onslaught of the Muslims.[24] Hence in the process Siṁhana, after conquering Lāṭa, attacked Mālawa and defeated the Pāramāra King Arjunavarman, before A.D.1206 and besized the fort of Mandava, Modern Mandu.[25] After this he proceeded against Gūrjara and waged not less than three wars. The Gūrjara king at this time was Chālukya Bhīma II, and according to the Ambe inscription of Siṁghaṇa, his general Kholleśvara pushed the Gūrjara army to the northern bank of river Narmada.[26] Another expedition took place probably before A.D. 1229 when the combined forces of Seuṇa, Lāṭa, Mālawa and Paramāra, Surrounded Gūrjaras.[27] The Gurjara country at this time had to face a Muslim raid in addition. It was in these campaigns, that Siṁhaṇa's forces came into clash with the Muslims, defeated them and liberated the country, leading him to style himself as *Turushka-kōpa-pralaya-mahārṇava magna-mēdinī- samuddharaṇa, mahāvarāha.* Sārangapānidēva being the son of Siṁhaṇa, took active part in his father's campaigs and was probably the obscure or lesser general who defeated the Muslim ruler and thus acquired the epithet *Prārājya rājya Turahkēpa-plava Mēdinī Samuddharaṇa Mahāvarāha.*

As regards the Muslim adversery of Siṁhaṇa, it may be pointed out that Iltutmish (A.D. 1210-1236) was the reigning Sultan of Delhi and thus the contemporary rulers in North India. In or before A.D.1225 he captured Ranthambor and Mandhvar and attacked Chalukyas of Gujarat, which according to Rajput records was a failure.[28] In A.D. 1234-35 he made a successful raid into Mālawa, which was more a plunder, than yielding any military or political advantage, for, the Pāramaras remianed in undisturbed possession of the country for the rest of the country.[29] It was probably in this campaign he captured the city of Bhilsa and advanced upto Ujjain which he sacked, and after demolishing the famous *Linga*, and image of Vikramāditya and many idols.[30] Thus Siṁhaṇa, with a view to arrest the further advances of the Muslim forces of Iltutmish, came into conflict with them and prevented them from acquiring permanent hold in Gujarat and Mālawa, thus fully justifying the epithet, as the great incarnation of Bear in lifting the earth from the deluge of Muslims. This also refutes the charge made against Siṁhaṇa, that he did not make common cause with the other Hindu kingdoms and failed to take a far sighted and statesman-like view of the prevailing political situation in North and Central India. On the other hand it can be said that Siṁhaṇa, finding the weakness of the kings of Mālawa and Gūrjara, took upon himself the task of preventing Muslims from making further in-roads in to Deccan, for atleast a further period of more than half a century.

Notes and References

1. P.Srinivasachari, (Ed). *A corpus of Ins. in the Telingana Districts of H.E.H. Nizam's Dominions, HAS,* 13, pp.38-100.
2. *Rāja-Praśasti,* ll, verses 4 to 6; R.G.Bhandarkar *Early History of the Deccan,* pp. 141-142, S.H.Ritti *The Seuṇas of Dēvagiri* p. 39.
3. *A.R.Ep.*, 1933-34, BK No. 154
4. Yazdani (Ed) *Early History of Deccan,* Vol.II p. 543.
5. B.R.Gopal (Ed) *Karnatak Inscriptions,* Vol. V, No. 42, pp. 163-179. *KRI,* No.25 of 1945-46.
6. S.H.Ritti, *op.cit.,* p.300.
7. *Ep.Carn.,* VII Cl. 21.
8. *K.I., Op. Cit.,*
9. S.H.Ritti, *op. cit.* p. 308
10. D.C.Ganguly, *The Struggle for Empire,* pp. 191-192, 197, *Ep. Ind.,* XIX, 19, V. 12.
11. Yazdani (Ed), *op. cit.,* Vol. II p. 826.
12. *Ibid*
13. *P.V.P.Sastry, The Kākatīyas,* pp. 121.
14. Ramanatapur inscriptions dated Ś.1189 A.D. 1267-68 No. 51 of *Nalgonda Inscriptions* Vol. II
15. *Ibid,* No.
16. *N.Venkataramanayya, The Early Muslim Expansion in South India,* p.15
17. *Ibid,* p.34
18. *Ibid,* p.13
19. *K.I. op. cit.,*
20. *Ep. Ind. I,* p. 340-341.
21. Yazdani, *op. cit,* p.540
22. *Ibid*
23. *K.I., op. cit*
24. S.H.Ritti *op. cit.,* pp. 113-114
25. *Ibid.*
26. *SII,* Vol., IV, No. 155, *ARSIE,* 1932-33 Bk. 57
27. S.H.Ritti, *op. cit.* p. 130
28. D.C.Ganguly, *op. cit.,* p. 134
29. *Ibid.,* Elliott Dowson, Vol. II, p.241
30. Haig (Ed) *Cambridge History of India,* Vol III, p. 55.

19. A NOTE ON KARA-PIṆḌAKA CHŪRṆĪKĀ

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Line 31 of the Jayarampur copper - plate grant[1] of the time of Gopachandra[2] reads *prativarsha - ñch - ārra-piṇḍaka - chūrṇṇikā - śatam - ēkaṁ dēyaṁ*. The meaning of this portion of the grant is that the annual tax *ārra-piṇḍaka* was fixed at one hundred *chūrṇṇikās*. S.N. Rajaguru[3] who edited the inscription for the first time refers to *ari-piṇḍaka-chūrṇīkā* as the name of a currency. Following Rajaguru, S.Tripathy[4] also inclined to believe that *ari-piṇḍaka chūrṇīkā* is a coin name and the term denoted silver punch-marked coins which were in active circulation during the period under question. D.C. Sircar[5] has made a slight emendation in the essential parts of the record and suggested that the annual tax fixed at 100 *chūrṇikās* was called *ārya-piṇḍaka*. The prefix - *ārra, -ari* or - *ārya* attached to the word *piṇḍaka* does not make any sense at all and may appear to be superfluous. But this reminds us of the *samuchita-kara-piṇḍaka* in line 55 of the Khalimpur copper plate inscription of Dharmapāla (circa 775-812 A.D.) of Regnal year 32[6] and accordingly the reading *prativarsha - kara-piṇḍaka* in line 31 of the Jayarampur plate appears to be convincing.

Piṇḍaka is a well-known tax referred to in the land grants of Bengal. It refers to lump assessment in cash upon village or villages[7] as distinguished from the king's grain-share *bhōga-bhāga - kara* which is the usual land revenue demanded from the individual cultivators. In addition to the *bhōga- bhāga-kara* which is the usual land revenue demanded from the individual cultivators, the king was also demanding a tax levied upon the whole village or villages. In this connection it is to be remembered that while the usual practice of assessing the land revenue or the *bhōga-bhāga-kara* was in grain or kind, the lump assessment upon the village or villages was made in cash. In some of the land grants of the Pālas of Bengal, *piṇḍaka* has been used in place of *hiraṇya* which can be best explained as dues paid in cash.[8] Moreover, *kara-piṇḍaka* appears to be the same as *piṇḍa-kara* of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*[9].Since Gopachandra was a ruler of Bengal and Śvetabālikā, the grant village, was situated in Daṇḍabhukti, it seems to be plausible that like the other copper plate grants discovered from Bengal, the word *piṇḍaka* or *kara-piṇḍaka* was definitely intended for lump assessment upon the whole village and the payment was evidently made in cash.

The amount to be annually paid in this connection is described as one hundred *chūrṇṇikās*. In the opinion of D.C. Sircar, the word *chūrṇī* means a hundred cowrie-shells[10] and as such 100 *chūrṇīs* or *chūrṇīkās* can be equalled to 10,000 cowrie-shells. In Eastern India, the word *chūrṇīkā* is spelt as *churṇī* or *chūrṇṇī* and is used as a synonym of purāṇa or silver coin. We have centuries which contain reference *chūrṇī* as a coin-name, not indicating cowrie-shells but coined money. The Alagum inscription of the time of Anantavarman *Chōḍagaṅgadēva* of regnal year 62[11] (A.D. 1139-40) records the deposit of one hundred *chūrṇis* added by five *purāṇas* with the servitor of the temple of Garttśvara, for providing *ákhaṇḍa-dīpa* or perpetual lamp. In line 24 of the inscription the amount is separately written in figures as *pu 105*. *Pu* here is a contraction of the word *purāṇa* and, therefore, it should be 105 *purāṇas* or silver coins. The Mehar copper plate inscription of Dāmōdara, Śaka 1156[12] (1234 A.D.) also contains *chūrṇ-śatasya* in line 35 and uses it as a synonym of *purāna*. The word *chūrṇi* is also noticed in line 59 of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna[13].

According to D.C. Sircar, both the words *chūrṇī* and *purāṇa* are recognised in

the sense of *kāhāṇa* (Sanskrit *Kārshāpaṇa*) which was equal to 1280 cowrie-shells.[14]

1 *chūrṇī* = 1280 cowrie-shells
100 *chūrṇīs* = 1,28,000 cowrie-shells

If this equation is to be accepted then *chūrṇī* cannot mean a unit of hundred cowrie-shells.

A twelfth century inscription of Orissa[15] makes us believe that cowrie was the lowest unit of coinage in Orissa and it was known as *kabāḍi* or *kauḍi*, and was counted by *gaṇḍā* (four) and *paṇa* (eighty).

4 *kauḍi* = 1 *gaṇḍā*
20 *gaṇḍā* = 1 *paṇa*
16 *paṇa* = 1 *purāṇa*

It is not unlikely that *chūrṇikā* of the Jayarampur plate denoted silver coins, probably the silver punch-marked coins which were known in ancient times as *purāṇa, dharaṇa, kāhāṇa or kārshāpaṇa*, and sometimes as *chūrṇī* or *chūrṇikā*. Thus the payment was not necessarily made in cowrie-shells but in coined money. It is, therefore, reasonable to believe that the donee of the plate was required to pay annually the lump assessment (*kara-piṇḍaka)* upon the village *Śvētabālikā* at the rate of one hundred silver punch-marked coins (*chūrṇikā-śatakaṁ*). However, this is the earliest epigraphic reference to *kara-piṇḍaka* and *chūrnikā*.

Notes and References

1. *Orissa Historical Research Journal* (*O.H.R.J.*), XI, No.4, 1963, pp.206-33ff.
2. *Mahārājādhirāja* Gōpachandra was the overlord of *Mahārāja* Achyuta, the issuer of the grant, and is identified with the *Mahārājādhirāja* of the same name mentioned in one of the Faridpur plates (*Indian Antiquary, XXXIX, pp.193-216ff.*) and the Mallasarul plate of *Mahārāja* Vijayasēna (*Epigraphia Indica) (Ep.Ind.)*, XXIII, pp.155-61ff.). He was ruling over Bengal sometime in the first half of the sixth century A.D.
3. See note 1 above, p.223.
4. *Early and Medieval Coins and Currency System of Orissa, Circa 300 B.C. to 1568 A.D.*, Calcutta, 1986, p.168.
5. *Select Inscriptions*, I,2nd edition, Calcutta, 1965, pp.530-31.
6. *Ep.Ind.*, IV, pp.243ff.
7. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, p.250.
8. U.N. Ghoshal, *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System*, Calcutta, 1929, pp.244ff.
9. *Arthaśāstra*, II. 15.
10 . See note 7 above, p.77.
11 . *Ep.Ind.*, XXIX, pp.45-46.
12 . *Ibid.*, pp. 182 ff; XXX, XXVII, pp.51ff.
13 . N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, pp.140-48 and pp.170-80.
14 . See note 11 above, p.45.
15. S.N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of the Temples of Purī and the Origin of Śrī Puruṣōttama Jagannāth*, I (Part I & II), Puri, 1992, p.66.

20. PALAEOGRAPHY OF EARLY INSCRIPTIONS IN TAMIL NADU

M.D. Sampath

It is more often seen that palaeography is the only consideration in determining the date of the early inscriptions. While suggesting a date, enough care has to be taken, that too, if no other internal evidence is not available. It is safe to suggest a date with plus or minus hundred or atleast fifty years. We often come across the difficulty in dating, since the writing is much affected or influenced by the style and skill of a scribe. The Urban and rural palaeography of a given record can be determined keeping the above aspect in mind, not to speak of the internal evidence and comparative palaeography. In determining the probable date of an undated record, the crucial and test letters as well as the latest scriptal form should be taken into consideration. The survival forms would normally mislead in dating. Care must be taken to see that any given record, which necessitates palaeographical dating fulfils the above conditions or norms, though palaeography sometimes play a limited role. In this paper, I have confined myself to features and the process of evolution of Tamil Cave Brāhmī and the scripts born out of it.

If we can identify the stages when there is a slight difference in the forms of letters in the course of evolution of various scripts derived from Tamil Cave-Brāhmī, it will be possible to fix scientifically the exact stage and period of the origin of these scripts. The points of agreement and difference between the Brāhmī scripts of the Aśokan edicts and the script of the Tamilnāḍu caves should be considered. The basic common letters available in two scripts are well-known. As it is, there is no difference between the forms of the basic letters. It is necessary to examine the inscriptions with a view to fix the stage and the period when a script was exclusively employed, to write inscriptions in Tamil language, has started showing the difference in the course of its evolution.

Before examining the stage and the period when the Tamil Brāhmī script started showing differences in the course of its own evolution, it is necessary to recall the salient features, characteristic of the Tamil Cave-Brāhmī inscriptions.[1] They are, the absence of the inherent *a*-vowel value in the consonants; the use of double consonants side by side as full letters (instead of a conjunct form) and the use of additional letter forms for writing the special Dravidian symbols, *ḻ*, *ṟ* and *ṉ*.

In tracing the stage and the period of the origin of the script of the cave inscriptions, the occasional use of the varga *dh*, *ś* and *s* will not help us, not to speak of the avoidance of aspirates and voiced forms, at the latter stage.

The evolutionary stages can be fixed not only with reference to the differences noticed in the cave and other inscriptions but also with reference to the forms obtained in the contemporary inscriptions outside Tamilnāḍu. The first stage of difference is roughly around the first century B.C. The records from

Kīḻvaḷu, Karuṇgāl akkuḷ, the Tirup-patankuṉṟam (shorter inscription) and the Vikkiramaṅgalam show variations.[2] Unlike the rudimentary forms seen in the Māṅguḷam Mēṭṭuppaṭṭi and Tiru-malai inscriptions assignable from 4th to 2nd century B.C., the recently discovered inscription form Vikkiramaṅgalam dat-able to first century B.C. reveal definite changes. In the next stage, the differ-ence is seen in one of the Arikamēḍu[3] pot-sherd inscriptions. The letter *t* and *l* are the examples noticeable in the inscription Nos. 9, 12 and 15. The angle at which the arm on the right side of the letter *t* branches off from the main slanting stem tends to show a curve or a short hori-zontal and angular line. This variation is different from the earlier forms noticed in potsherd inscriptions Nos. 10, 17, 19 and 20. The letter *l* unlike the form seen in the Māṅguḷam inscription[4] has devel-oped a hook at the beginning of the curve in the base of the letter in potsherd in-scription No. 15, suggesting thereby the future evolution. The letter *ḻ* introduced to suit the Dravidian phonology, unlike the earlier form, which consists of a cir-cle with a vertical line cutting across and terminating in a zig-zag fashion, gave rise to a slit resulting in a loop on the right of the circle in the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam in-scription. Further the form obtained in the Arikamēḍu potsherd inscription show nearly its modern form resembling the letter *m* with extended central line down beyond its base line. It was evolved on account of the flow of writing. It begins at the top of the circle, then turning to the left and after the completion of the circle, it ends wih a straight line from the top.

The difference in the forms of letters can be witnessed subsequently in the cave record from Arachchalūr. The changes found in the potsherd inscriptions natu-rally fall in the place between the ancient forms seen in the early cave records and the Arachchalūr inscriptions[5].

The discussion on potsherd inscrip-tions cannot be closed abruptly as it is fair to try a comparison with the letter forms available in other regions. If the comparison can be attempted, then we will find that some of the forms like *t*, *p*, etc., obtained in the Nānāghāṭ inscrip-tion [6] of the Sātavāhana queen Nāganika resemble the transitional forms that are seen in the Arikamēḍu inscriptions. That is to say, both the forms of *t*, one with the two branching arms of the vertical stem and the other that of the right arm branching off from the main slanting ver-tical stem, are the important pointers to assign the Nānāghāṭ and the Arikamēḍu records to the middle of the first century B.C. The letter *p* in the Nānāghāṭ record show the levelled arms which is not the case with the form in the Arikamēḍu in-scription. In the Aivarmalai inscription[7] of about the first century B.C. to first century A.D., the arms of the letter *p* are not of levelled nature.

The letter forms represented on the silver bilingual coin[8] of the Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi exhibit some changes. The letter *m* noticed in the cave in-scriptions resembles a horse-shoe shape with a cross-bar connecting the two up-right arms which are in continuation of the lower-semicircle. But in the above coin, the cross-bar is drawn to the left

and right of the right arm. This distinctive change will help us to fix the stage and the period in the process of evolution. The *puḷḷi* (dot) seen in the Āṉaimalai inscription[9] of first century B.C., continued to occur in the above Sātavāhana coin dating back to first century A.D. Though it needs a detailed discussion on the orthographic system, yet its study with regard to the consonants has assumed greater significance . In fact it provides a firm dating for the stone records examined above.

In the Aivarmalai record of first century B.C., the contention that the letter *ṭ* has a *puḷḷi*, is an optical illusion. The shallow depression in the rock-surface, without the mark of a chisel, helps us to brush aside this view. It was examined *in situ* by myself and Sri I.Mahadevan in the course of our sruvey of the Brāhmī sites in Tamilnāḍu.

The use of *puḷḷi* (dot) was introduced more frequently, probably around 1st century A.D., though it made its beginning in the late first century B.C. The occurrence of *puḷḷi* for the first time in the cave record from Āṉimalai has been once questioned by Gift Siromoney. But his doubt has been overruled by many scholars. The use of the *puḷḷi* is to distinguish the basic consonant and the consonant with the inherent *a*. It was mainly devised to reduce the *mātrā* value from the full to the stop consonant. In majority of the inscriptions from Pugaḷūr[10] the *puḷḷi* does not occur. A thorough *in situ* examination of the various inscriptions here revealed the use of *puḷḷi* in the expressions *netti* and *atiṭṭāṉam* occurring in two different inscriptions. The liquid *ḷ* available in the Nagaṉūrpaṭṭi inscription[11] of second and third century A.D. bears resemblance to the form noticed in the longer Pugaḷūr inscriptions. The change of the left and the initial horizontal stem into an accentuated curve is an evolutionary feature. The transitional forms levelled and unlevelled *p* written in a curved form is obtained in the Nagaṉūrpaṭṭi inscription. The letters *p* with unlevelled arms seen in the Toṇḍūr record[12] of first and second century A.D. bears resemblance to the forms met with in the Arikamēḍu potsherd inscription.

The next stage, when difference in the evolutionary process can be seen, is wellneigh discernible in the Arachchalūr inscription. Many letters in this record show definite changes in their letter forms. In order to understand the development or the changes in the scriptal forms during the post-Arachachalūr period, it is necessary to take stock of the palaeographical features observed in the Arachchalūr inscription. The angular form of short vowel *e* met with in the ealier Tamil Cave Brāhmī records has developed into a full circular form with a clear dot inside the circle in order to represent the *hrasva* (i.e., short vowel). This is governed by the *sūtra* in the ancient Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam*, which states that short *e* and *o* have dots marked on them. The central midrib of the letter *k* show the curvature. The cerebral *ṇ* which resembles the Roman letter *I*, show the trend of fast and running hand, in converting the form of two horizontal lines, connected by a vertical line, into a diagonal line connecting the end of the top

line with the beginning of the bottom line. The curvature seen on the base horizontal line forestalls the ensuing development. The letter *m* has its cross-bar connecting the two arms inside. The dental *t* is formed by a curve issuing from the middle of the vertical stem. The letter *p* which has taken a level form like the Roman *U* during the 2nd-3rd cetury A.D., in the Nagaṉūrpaṭṭi inscription continued to show a similar feature in the Arachchalūr inscription too. The letter *y*, instead of a curve, reveal a straight base line. The letter *l* , which had undergone change over the form available in the Arikamēḍu potsherd inscription No. 15, show a pronounced form. The final *ṉ* reveal the shifting of the central vertical curve to the end of the base line as a result of the tendency of the fast running hand.

The post-Arachchalūr period letter forms show distinctive changes in respect of a number of letters. If we consider the letter-forms seen in the Arachchalūr inscription as the earliest stage for the birth of Tamil and Veḷteḻuttu scripts exclusively for writing the Tamil language, we may not be wrong at all. We have seen the beginning of the changes in the letter forms, *m, ṇ, t* and *ṉ* at this stage.

The different stages covering a period of three centuries subsequent to the Arachchalūr period is significant becuase we come across the real beginnings or distinctly separate processes in the evolution of Tamil and Vaṭṭeḻuttu scripts. It should be noted that the gap hitherto considered to have existed between the Arachchalūr and the Vallam inscriptions[13] no longer holds good. The next stage after the Arachchalūr cave inscription is represented by Āṇḍippaṭṭi coin records[14] and the Ammaṉkōyilpaṭṭi inscription[15] with regard to the evolution of Tamil Script and again Iruḷappaṭṭi inscriptions, Pūlāṅ ḳuṟichchi, Śittaṉṉavāśal, Kōṭṭaiyūr, Tirunātharkuṉṟu, Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi inscriptions, etc., [16] as far as the evolution of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script is concerned.

In the case of Āṇḍippaṭṭi coin inscriptions, it may be said that it carries the independent process of evolution, as evident from the features or variations seen in respect of letters like vowels, *a* and *u* as well as the consonants like dental, *t, m, l* final *ṉ* and cerebral *ṇ*. In the case of *a*-vowel form, it consists of two curves that join the vertical line independently from left.

The next stage in the evolution is represented by the Ammaṉkōyilpaṭṭi inscription of early fifth century A.D. The dental *t* has a curve taken to the side and connected by a loop to the main stem on account of the running hand. The final *ṉ* show the initial horizontal line at the end of which is seen the curve drawn beyond the base line or the main line showing its disposition to lower its convex face. This belongs to the period forming a line between the Arachchalūr and Āṇḍippaṭṭi inscriptions on the one hand and the Vallam record on the other. The Vallam inscription of Mahēndravarman, the Pallava king stands as a trend setter showing the development features.

The earliest stage of Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet distinct from Tamil is discernible

in the Iruḷappaṭṭi[17] and Pūlāṅkṛichchi inscriptions. These inscriptions of c. 5th century A.D., carry independent process further and more so after these records, that we may be able to trace the distinct features. The next stage after Arachchalūr record is represented by the Iruḷappaṭṭi inscription assignable to c. 5th century A.D. The vowel *a* form develops into two curves. The upper curve is connected to the lower curve, which touches the top of main stem. The end stroke of Roman *s* shpaed curve of the letter *i* turns to the right and ends with a horizontal stroke from the middle as seen in the Pūlāṅkuṟichchi inscription. The final *ṉ* form has taken the form of a curve, drawn continuously from the end of the base line, and not from the middle of the base line, noticed in the Iruḷappaṭṭi records. The cerebral *ṇ* which has taken the form of two concave curves one below the other in the Iruḷappaṭṭi inscriptions is retained in the Śittaṉṉavāśal inscriptions.[18] One can see in the records from this place, the accentuated curves drawn from inside. The dental *t* is drawn with its curve issuing from the middle of the vertical stem as well as from the end of the stem. These forms are noticed in the Iruḷappaṭṭi and Śittaṉṉavāśal records.

The cross-bar of horse-shoe shaped *m*, attached only to its right arm instead of touching both arms inside, seen in the Arachchalūr inscription show the next significant development in its evolutionary process. One of the records from Śittaṉṉavāśal may be considered to be next in the chronological order from the point of view of palaeography. The cross-bar is found attached to the right and the left of both the arms here. This can be taken as the forerunner to the developed forms. In the Tirunātharkuṉṟu record, the cross-bar has turned into a curve at its right end, while in the Malaiyaḍikkuṟichchi inscription,[19] the horizontal stroke of the left upright arm has assumed the form of a curve in the beginning.

Therefore, the above discussion indicate that there was a parallel evolution of Tamil and Vaṭṭeḻuttu scripts. Though the stage of evolution took place at different centuries, yet the vital links between the Sātavāhana, the Arikamēḍu and the Pugaḷūr forms on the one hand and the Vallam on the other hand in respect of the Tamil script as well as the links between Arikamēḍu and Pugaḷūr forms on the one hand and the Iruḷappaṭṭi, Pūlāṅkuṟichchi and Śittaṉṉavāśal forms on the other hand in respect of Vaṭṭeḻuttu script, are however, available.

Notes and References

1. M.D. Samapath, 'Origin, Evolution and Orthography of Brāhmī Script'- Paper read at the Tamil University U.G.C. Symposium, Thanjavur, 1988 (in press)
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, *Ancient India*, No.2, pp.113 ff and plate XLI, Nos.9 and 12.
4. *Seminar on Inscriptions* (ed. by R. Nagaswamy), pp. 69 ff. and diagramatic illustrations - 'Corpus

of Tamil - Brāhmī Inscriptions', by Iravatam Mahadevan, 1968, Madras.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol.XL, pp.91 ff. and plate; *A.R.Ep.*, 1961-62, No.B 280.

6. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol.I, p. 192, No.82 and plate XXXIV.

7. *A.R.Ep.*, 1973-74, No.B 231 and Intd., p. 11.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol.XXXV, pp.247 ff.

9. *Seminar on Inscriptions*, p.65, No. 55.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66, Nos. 56-59 and 66.

11. *J.E.S.I.*, Vol.XX, pp. 91-95 and illustration.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-95.

13. *S.I.I.*, Vol.II, p .341, No.72, Plate X facing p.340.

14. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol.XL, pp.139 ff and plate.

15. *Historical Heritage of Tamils,* 'Tamil and Vaṭṭeḍuttu- A Reassessment', by M.D. Sampath, p. 127, 1983, Madras.

16. Sri Mahadevan has classified the Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi record under Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions. But this record is one of the earliest Vaṭṭeḍuttu inscriptions that can be assigned to early 6th century A.D., on grounds of palaeography. (Also see, *Seminar on Inscriptions*, p.68, No.75 and illustration)

17. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol.XXXIX, pp. 271 ff. and plate.

18. The records from Śittaṇṇavāśal were noticed recently. They have been included in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1993-94. Other features are highlighted separately.

19. *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol.XXVII L , pp.338 ff

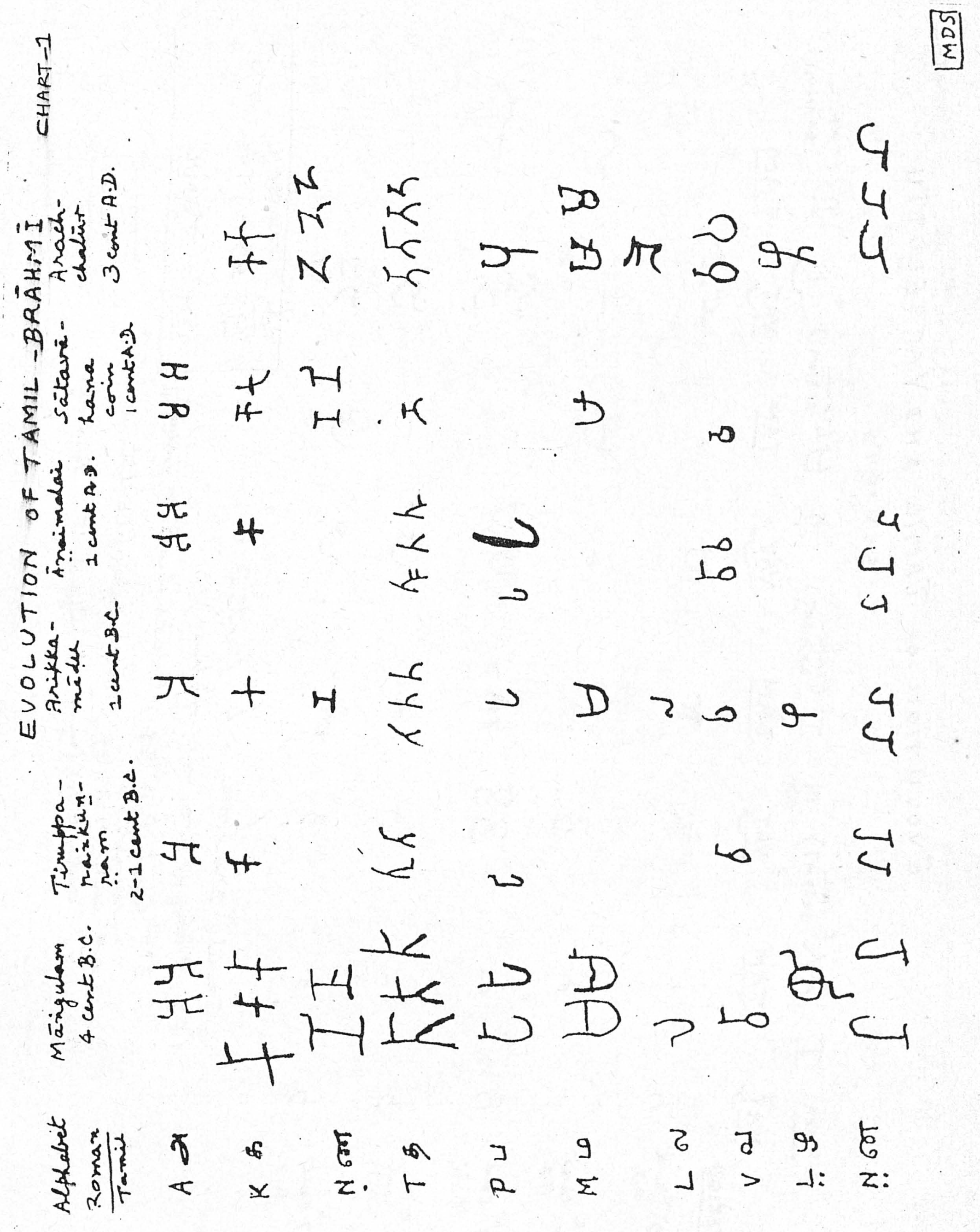
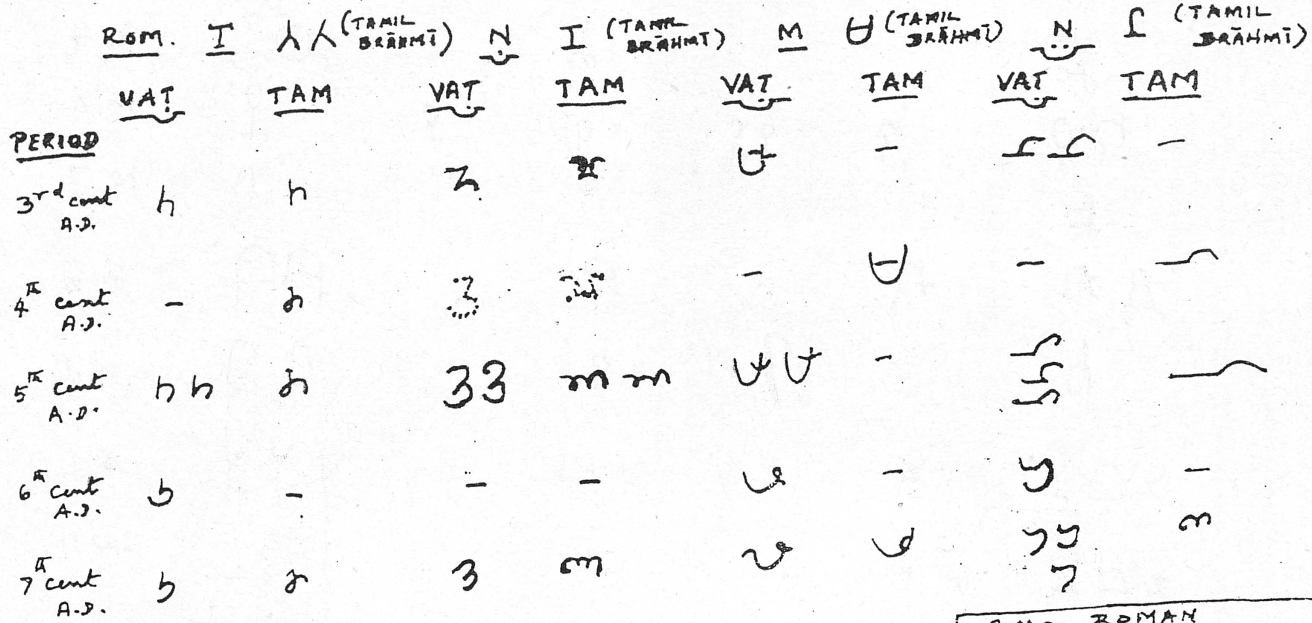


CHART-1
EVOLUTION OF TAMIL -BRĀHMĪ
Alphabet Roman Tamil
Māṅgulam 4 cent B.C.
Tiruppa-naikkun-ṟam 2-1 cent B.C.
Arikka-medu 1 cent B.C.
Anaimalai 1 cent A.D.
Sātavā-hana coin 1 cent A.D.
Arach-chalur 3 cent A.D.
A அ
K க
Ṇ ண
T த
P ப
M ம
L ல
V வ
Ḻ ழ
Ṉ ன
MDS

CHART–2

EVOLUTION OF TAMIL AND VAṬṬEḺUTTU SCRIPTS



ROM = ROMAN
VAṬ = VAṬṬEḺUTTU
TAM = TAMIL

1. Tamil Brāhmī - 4th cent. B.C. (eg., Māngulam inscription)
2. 3rd cent. A.D. (eg., Arachchalūr inscn.) inscription.
3. 4th cent. A.D., (eg., Ammankōyilpatti inscn.)
4. 5th cent. A.D., (eg., Irulappatti inscn.)

MDS

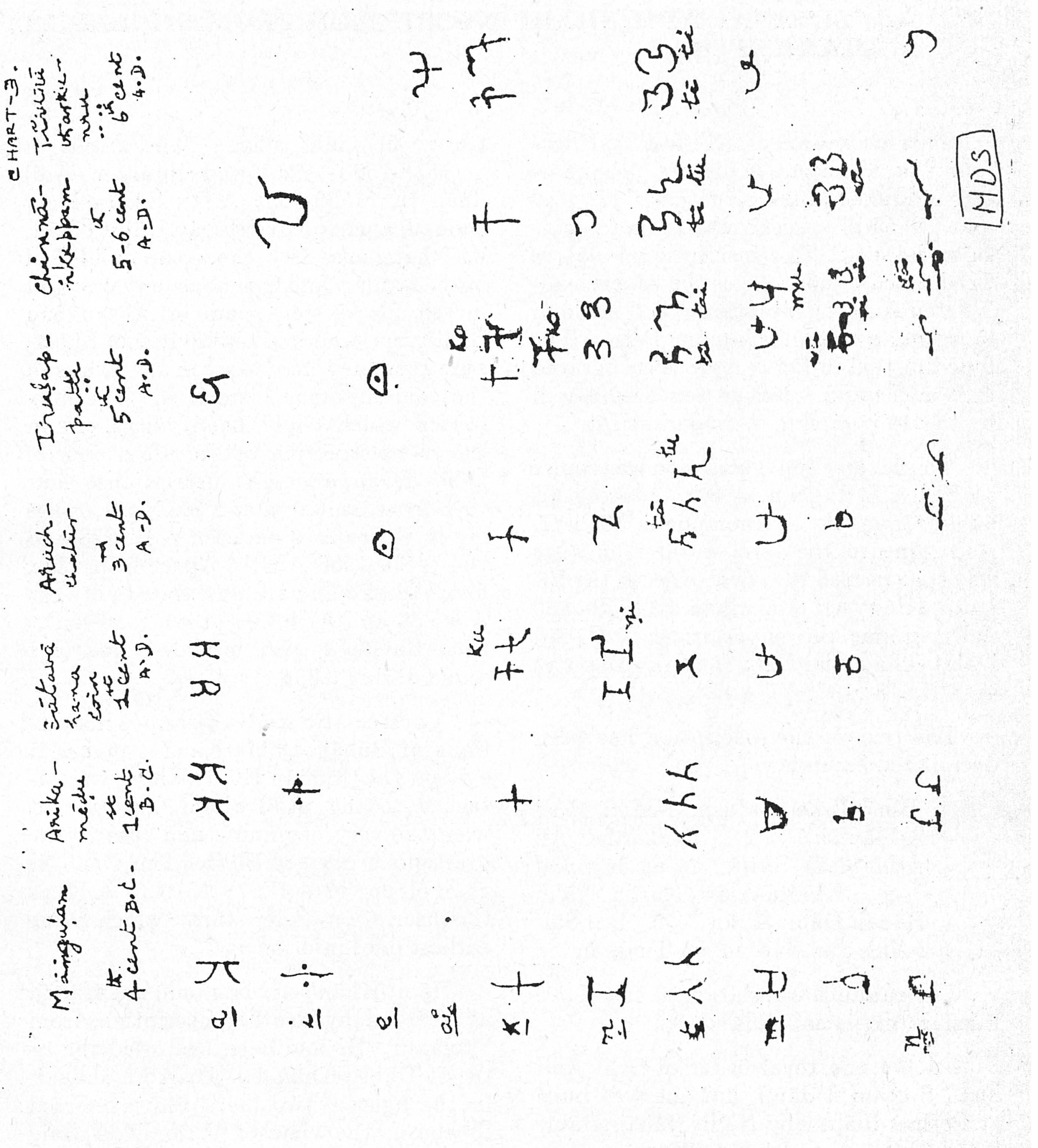


CHART-3.
MDS

21. A BILINGUAL ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTION FROM SHOLAPUR MAHARASHTRA

M.A.Siddiqui

This inscription of 'Ali Ādil Shāhi was found in Sholapur, a district headquarters of Maharashtra, situated in 17° 40′*N* and 75° 54′E on the great Indian peninsular railway.[1] The inscriptional slab is fixed into a pillar near the steps leading towards the ablution tank in Jāmi mosque of maḥalla Jumma Peth. The four-line text in Persian prose is engraved in Naskh hand. Persian text is followed by the *Moṛi* version in Nāgari script.

This interesting inscription was copied by Shri S.S.Hussain, A.S.E ., during his exploration tour of Sholapur in 1986-87. According to the text, a Jāmi' mosque was constructed the royal order of the Bijapur King 'Ali Ādil Shāh I (1558-1580 A.D.) under the supervision of Bābāji Ḍābiṭ Khān, the Nāib (i.e., the Deputy) in A.H.978 (1570-71 A.D.).

The text of the inscription has been deciphered as under:-

1. Binā Karda Masjid-i-Jāmi Peth Ādilāpur 2. Kārkarda' Alī Ādil Shāh Sulṭān M'amūr Shud 3. Khidmatgārī Karda Nā'ib Bābāji Ḍābiṭ Khān 4. Dar Sāl-i-Nuḥ Ṣad Sab' īn wa Thamān

The running translation of the above Persian text is as follows:

1-4 On the royal order of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh Sulṭān, a Jāmi' mosque was built at Peth Ādilāpur by Nā'ib Bābājī Ḍābiṭ Khān, in the year (A.H.) 978.

The inscription is important in more than one aspect. Firstly it provides the name of an official who served under two 'Adil Shāhi rulers. 'Ali Ādil Shāh I (1558-1580 A.D.) and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II[2] (1580-1629 A.D). Surprisingly enough, a person like Bābājī Ḍābiṭ Khān, who happens to be the great builder of both secular and religious edifices and served for sixteen years in Aḥsanābād (Gulbarga) and in Sandlapur (i.e. Sholapur) remained unnoticed in the works of the contemporary historians. The only source which could be of any help in the re-construction of the life sketch of Ḍābiṭ Khān, are eight inscriptions[3], four each from Gulbarga and Sholapur, ranging in their dates between A.H. 978 and 994 (1570-1586 A.D.). Apart from this, four 'Ādil Shāhi Farmans[4] dated between A.H.989 and A.H. 994 (1581-1586 A.D.) from Sholapur also provide some clue about Ḍābiṭ Khān.

A systematic study of various inscriptions of Bābājī Ḍābiṭ Kahān, makes it evident that Bābājī Ḍābiṭ Khān, was attached to the 'Ādil Shāhī Government from the very beginning and rose to the prestigious post of Nā'ib (The Deputy) at Sholapur in A.H.978 1570-71 A.D. as the inscription under study (which is the earliest one) informs us.

Ḍābiṭ Khān's actual name was Bābājī as recorded in two other inscriptions from Sholapur.[5] He had been bestowed the title of Ḍābiṭ Khān by Āli Ādil Shāh I. In the light of two inscriptions referred to above, the view of Major T.W.Haig seems to be far-fetched as he says that "the conjunction of the Hindu Bābājī with the Muhammadan title is peculiar and perhaps indicates the Ḍābiṭ Khān,

was converted Hindu[6]. The word 1Bābā' is of Persian origin which means father, grandfather, saintly figure or the old man.

We come across Ḍābiṭ Khān in the year A.H.978/1570-71 A.D. in Sholapur where he is found as Nā'ib (i.e. the Deputy). Between A.H.978 and 994, we are informed through inscriptions that his place of duty remained changing from Sholapur to Aḥsanābād (Gulbarga). He appears to have been posted at Sholapur for a longer period.

Bābājī Ḍābiṭ Khān began his career as Nā'ib, in Shplapur which is his last resting place aslo.[7] We are not certain about the exact date of his demise but four 'Ādil Shahi farmans addressed to Ḍābiṭ Khān, when he was holding the post Nā'ib-i-Gh'aibat (i.e. the Deputy in Absence, at Sholapur, he is mentioned as Khān-i-Āẓam Ḍābiṭ Khān. He might have died soon after Jumādā I, 22 A.H.994 (May 1, 1586) as beyond this date we find neither inscriptions nor farmāns wherein Ḍābiṭ Khān, is mentionned. The inscription at the grave of Ḍābiṭ Khān, in Kālā Gumbad records his demise but does not give the date.

The inscription under study also reminds us of the fact that various place-names constantly changed with the passage of time. The same thing happened to the Peth 'Ādilāpūr referred to in the inscription. Now Peth 'Ādilāpur is called Peth Juma, probably because of Jāmi' Mosque (also called Juma Masjid) situated there.

To conclude this article, it would not be wrong to say that Ḍābiṭ Khān was attached from the very beginning to the services of 'Ādil Shāhī Government at Sholapur and Aḥsanābād. It is also supported by inscriptions that his original name was Bābāji. Apart from the title ofḌābiṭ Khān, he was also bestowed the title of Khān-i-Aẓam as mentioned in the four 'Ādil Shāhi farmāns.

Notes and References

1. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India,* Vol. XXII (Oxford 1908), p.295.

2. D.C.Verma, *History of Bijapur* (New Delhi, 1979).

3. Major T.W.Haig, Inscriptions of Gulbarga, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1907-08, pp.3-6 *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, Nos. D223, 225 and 228.

Ibid., 1982-83, No. C69., *Ibid.,* 1986-87, No. C87.

4. G.H.Khare, *Persian Sources of Indian History*, Vol-V, part I (Poona, 1961), pp.123-126.

5. *Ibid.,* 1982-83, No. C 69; *Ibid.,* 1965-66, No. C 228.

6. Major T.W.Haig, *EIM*, 1907-08, p.3.

7. *Ibid.,* 1965-66, No.C 225.

22. AN EASTERN CHĀLUKYA COPPER PLATE CHARTER FROM CHĀMAṞṞU

Madhav N.Katti and C.A.Padmanabha Sastry

The copper plate charter[1] under study was copied by the second editor during his collection tour in the year 1990-91. It was discovered at the village Chāmṟṟu, Achhampēṭa-maṇḍalam, Gutur District.[2]

The set consists of three plates, each measuring 15.2 cms. long and 4.4 cms broad. The plates are comparatively thick. The writing, on the whole, is well preserved. The plates are strung to a copper ring, measuring about 6 cms in diameter, which passes through a hole bored on the left side of each plate at a distance of 1.3cms. form the edge. The seal bears, on its concave surface, the figures of lotus and crescent, in between which the legend *Śrī-Sarvvasiddhi* is engraved. The set together with the plates, ring and seal weighs 850 gms. The first two plates are engraved on both sides whereas the third plate is engraved on one side only.

The text of the charter, contains twenty eight lines in all. It is in Sanskrit langage and Telugu-Kannaḍa characters of about the 7th century A.D. The text is in *champū* style. A number of orthographical errors can be observed in the text. *Anusvāra* has not been used in a number of instances as can be observed in the expressions like *pādānuddyātānā* and °Manāvyās-gōtraṇā (lines 2). Reduplication of the consonant *v*, preceded by *rēpha* can be observed in some cases (in lines 15-17,). The character contains a few spelling mistakes which have been duly corrected while editting the text.

It is interesting to note, in the case of this plate, that the sprinkiling of Telugu place names, particularly while describing the boundaries of the gift village, which can be observed in almost all the contemporary copper-plate characters, is conspicuously absent in the present text.

On the basis of the genealogical account furnished in the charter, the record can be assigned to the reign of Jayasiṁha I (641-73 A.D.), son and successor of Vishṇuvardhana I. The inscription records the gift of the village called Viḷashṭi-agrahāra situtated on the northern bank of the river Kṛishṇa-beṇṇā in the Nātavāḍi-vishaya to Svāmiśarmma of Kautsa-gōtra, the resident of Guntapura, by king Jayasiṁha for the prosperity of 'Sarvadharmas' and also for the merit of his parents. The donee is described as the son of Pōḷasvāmi, grandson off Bhūtisvmi of Kānvṇaśākhā and as an expert in the two Vēdas. The gift village is said to have been exempted from all types of taxes.

It is generally known that most of the charters of Jayasimha I were issued from his victorious camps at Asanapura[3], Kalura[4], Udayapura[5] etc. The present grant mentions the camp Pishṭapura as in the case of Timmāpuram Plates issued by his father Vishṇuvardhana I[6], and also mentioned in an undated Piṭhāpūr Copper-Plate charter issued by Jayasiṁha himself.[7] The text of the charter contains the expressions like

Mahāsēnna- pādānudhyātānam°. It introduces Kīrttivarman (I) who is refered to as *Śrī- Vīralakshaṇ-āśva- mēdha-yājina(ḥ) mhōdadhō- āmṛrtaiva bhūta- trāṇa-saṁbhūta.* This euological portion is not found either in the Vātāpi Chalukya or Eastern Chālukya grants. After this portion Vishṇvardhana- mahārāja endowed with the title *Śrī Makaradhvaja* is introduced. The title *makaradhvaja* is attributed to Kubja-Vishṇvardhana, the younger brother of Satyāśraya and the son of Kīrttivarman (I) in the Timmāpuram plates[8]. This is followed by the introduction of king Śrī Ja[yasi*]ṅgha-vallabha-mahārāja who is referred to as the donor of the grant. The record comes to a close after referring to the gift of the village Viḷēshṭi. The inscription mentions Kuṭku-rāja obviously Kaṭaka-rāja, to as the executor of the grant. Certain Lōkanētra is referred as the engraver of the grant.

Nine copper-plate charters namely Puliṁbūru,[9] Peddavēgi[10], Peddamaddāli[11], Niḍumaṛṛu,[12] Gudivāḍa (three sets)[13] and Pishṭhapura [14] (two sets), besides a stone inscription[15], belonging to the regin of Jayasiṁha have been published so far. Among these records only Peddamaddāli and Guḍivāḍa charters are issued in the 19th regnal year of the king.

The territorial division Nātavāḍi-vishya, situated on the norhtern bank of river Kṛishṇabeṇṇā i.e. Kṛishṇā is of much significance. This is the earliest copper-plate charter of the Eastern Chaālukya dynasty mentioning this territorial division. However, through other sources the existence of this division is known to historians from 572 A.D.[16] This division is identified with the area in between the present day Vijayavāḍā and Nandigāma in Krishna District as well as the area comprising Madhira Taluk in Khammam District.

It is difficult to identity the gift village Viḷēshṭi with any modern village in the locality. The village Guntapura, can be identified with the present day Guṇṭūr in Guntur District. The *ājñapti* of the grant Kaṭakarāja and engraver Lōkanētra are known to us for the first time during the period of Jayasimha I.

[Metres: 1 to 3, Anushṭubh., verses 4 and 5 Indravajrā]

TEXT

First Plate, First Side

1. Svasti[||*] Śrīmat = Pishṭa purā[t*] - Svāmi (mi)- Mahāsēna - pād - ānudhyātānā[ṁ[8]]

2. Hāriti - putrāṇā[ṁ*] Mānavya-sagōtrāṇā[m*] Kura[18]

3. māra-svāmi - varaladha (labdha) ra(rā) jyānā [m*] Śrī [Vīravakhkhaṇ][19]-aśvamē -

4. dha - ya(yā)jiṇā chātraya[20] mahōdadhō (ā) amṛitayiva [21] bhūta-trāṇā

First Plate, Second Side

5. yā saṁbhūta-Kīrttivarmmā(ma) ṇasya putras[22] = titpāda [23] = ānudhyīta [*m**] Śakti - traya - sa -

6. ṁpādita mahādāhanō (nā) ya - dēva vō-jagati satkīrty = a (ā) bhilaksi (shi) tō nānā -

7. yuddha-vijayi(ya) pridiśipati [24]

- maḳuṭa - maṇi[ma*]- yūkhe (kha) - [chōta][25] pā =

8. d-āravinda-yugala Śrīmān makaradhavjō Visṇhōr = iv = āparo (ra)[26] Vishṇu -

9. vardhana-mā(ma)hārājē(jaḥ) tasya putras = tat = p ādānu dhyātō Mahō (hē) śva -

Second Plate, First Side

10. la (ra)- siddhi - paryya[nta *] - dha [r *] ma - bhvavya- siṅgha - yira [27] vikra(krā)nta- śrī-Ja[yasi*]ṅgha - valla-

11. bha - mahāra(rā)jē(ja) [sya*] mātā - pitṛi - puṇy = āvi (bhi) vṛiddhayē Guntapura va(vā) stavyā -

12. ya Bhūtisva (svā) mi-Chaturvbhē[28]-hōtrāyạ Gōnvāyine [29] Pōḷasvā-

13. mi - putrāya Kautsa - sagōtrāya Dvivēdāya Svāmiśarmmaṇ(ō*) Kṛi -

14. shṇa - bērṇṇāyā [ṁ] (beṇṇāyāṁ) uttara - taṭa (ṭē) Nātā(ta) vāḍi - vishayē Viḷēshṭi - nāma -

Second Plate, Second Side

15. grām - āgrahārī kṛitvāsarvvabādhā - sa(pa) rihārēṇa udaka - pūrvvēṇa

16. prē(prō)kta [m*] || Viditam = astu [||*] Se (sa)rvva- vishaya- vāsī (si) ṇ(nē) asman = bhṛityānāñ cha

17. sarvvida (sarvva-vīdha) sva - dharmmmā - rakshaṇṇiya [30] sarvvadharmmā (dharmma) śāstra - vido (ā) jñē (ā) pta

18. gratpa [31] Śrīgra (dhar) mmā - grashi [32] Chōkta [m*] [||*] Shashṭ ī varsha-

sahāsrī (srā) ṇi svarggō (ggē) mōdati - bhūmi -

19. dāchḥ [|*] Ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha [tānyēva*] = ni (na) rakē va [sed iti *] [1*] Laṁkukhi[33] vajhñasudhā da-

Third Plate, First Side

20. ttā bahubhiś = ch = ānupālitā [1*] yasya yasya yād ābhūmi [ḥ *] tasya tasya tadā pa (pha) laṁ [2 ||*]

21. Shasṭhī-varisha (varsha) - sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmida ḥ [1 *] Ākshēpta chā -

22. numantā cha tānyēva narakē vasēda (d=i) [ti *] [1 ||*] Bahuybhir v = vasudhā dattā bahubhiś = cānupāṭi (li) -

23. tā yasya yasya yadā bhūmis = tasya tasya tadā phala [m*] [2 ||*] Svadattā [m*] paradattā [m*]

24. vā yat[na*]d rakshta Yudhishṭira [|*] Mahī ṁ mahī - matāṁ śrēshṭha dānaś (ch) = chhrēy-osnupālana [m*] [3 ||*] Dānā

25 ni dantēva [34] narēndra -

26. nadrē[35] puṇarā (nā) ni dharmm - ārthi (dharmmātha) - yaśaskarāṆi [1] nī (Ni) rmmạlyāvā(vantā) pratimāni tā-

27. ni kō nā(m-a)sādhuḥ punarādadāti[4*||] Dharmmi (mā) śraya [ḥ] kalpataru [ḥ] - prajānā [ṁ] śrīma -

28. yaṁ - āsādhu ja vanāvagamya [1*] Ājñaptir = asya Kuṭku (Kaṭaka) rāja kaṇḍi-

29. nitya (tavya) samullayati Lōka nētraḥ [36] [5||*]

Notes and References

1. Being noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1990-91. The next is based on the inked impressions.
2. It is presently deposited in the Amaravati Museum, Govt. of India, Amaravati, Guntur District. We express our thanks to Dr.P.R.K..Prasad, former Assistant Superintending Archeologist of the Museum for enabling us to Copy the Copper Plate charter.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 129 ff and plates.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 132 ff and plates.
5. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 137 ff.
6. Above Vol. IX, pp. 317 ff and plates.
7. *Bhārati*, Vol. 40, Pt. II.
8. Above Vol. IX, pp. 318 ff and plates.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 254 ff and plates.
10. *Ibid.*,
11. *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 137 ff.
12. Above Vol. XVIII, pp. 55 and Plates.
13. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 126 ff and plates.
14. *Bhārati* (Tel) Vol. 40, pt. 2.
15. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 584.
16. Above Vol. XXXI, pp. 126 ff and plates.
17. From the Inked impressions and photographs.
18. The letter *ra* is superfluous.
19. Read: *Vīra -lakshṇa-*.
20. Read: *Kshatriya*.
21. Read: *amṛita - iva.-*
22. Read: *pautras°*.
23. Read: *tat = pād - ānu*.
24. Read: *pṛidhvīpati*.
25. Read: *ch-ōt°*.
26. Read: *vishṇōr = iv = āpara/*
27. Read: *siṅghha iva*.
28. Read: *Chaturvvēda*.
29. **Read: *Kānvāyinē*.**
30. **Read: *raskhaṇīya*.**
31. The word is unnecessary. Read as *ājñaptirasya*.
32. Read: *Śrī dharmmarakshitā*.
33. Read: *Babhubirv = vasudha*. The precedings two verses are repeated in lines 21-23.
34. Read: *datv = ēva*.
35. Redundant.
36. The metre and language are defective.

23. KĀMARASAVALLI INSCRIPTION OF KULŌTTUṄGA CHŌḶA I

S.Swaminathan

Kāmarasavalli is a small hamlet in the Udaiyarpalaiyam taluk of Tiruchirappali district. The Kārkōṭakēśvara temple there contains several interesting inscriptions which throw light on the cultural history of ancient Tamil Nadu.[1] An interesting inscription[2] of Rājarāja I (998A.D.) registers a gift of 15 *kaḷañju* of gold, the interest on which was to given to those who recite *Talavakārasāmavēda* on the day ofTiruvādiriai in the month of Mārgaḷ. Another important record [3] of the same ruler (1005 A.D.) mentions that the assembly of Kāmarasavalli - chaturvēdimaṅgalam contained eighty members. While an inscription[4] of Rājēndrachōḷa I (1041 A.D.) registers a gift of land by the great assembly of Kāmaravalli-chaturvēdimaṅgalam to Sākkai Maṛāyan Vikramaśōḷan for performing the dance *Sākkai-kūttu* thrice on each of the festivals *Mārgaḷi-triruvādirai* and *Vaikāśi-tiruvādirai.* Another inscription of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya dated in his 10th regnal year registers the assignment of certain customs duties on articles of merchandise for repairs to the temple of Tirukārkōṭīśvaram-uḍayanāyanār at Kāmadavalli-chaturvēdimaṅgalam by the people of the 18 countries and the 79 *vaḷanāḍus.* All these show that the temple and the village were inextricably interwoven with each other and were bristling with intense activities.

The Kārkṭōkēśvara temple might have come into existence around the 5th regnal year of a king who bore the characteristic title *Rājakēsarivarman* as per the inscription[6] engraved on the south wall of this temple and this king has been identified with Sundarachōḷa as the date .supplied in the inscription is equivalent to 961 A.D., January 4, which seems to have coincided with the 5th reganal year of Sundarachōḷa. This surmise is supported by another inscription[7] from Tiruppaḷātturai the text of which Rājakēsarivarman of the Kāmarasavalli inscription noted here. In both the records an individual Ādaṉūr Bālāśiriyaṉ bhaṭṭaṉ sivan Kūttaṉ figure as donor. In the Tiruppaḷatturai inscription the *sabhā* of srī Uttamaśīli-chaturvēdimaṅgalam sold land to the above individual. The name of the *sabhā* suggests that it must have been named after the prince Uttamaśīli, the youngest son of Parāntaka Chōḷa I[8]. Beside the palaeography of these records point to the period of Sundarachōḷa.

Hence, as per the available records the earliest date supplied by a record of thi' temple is dated in 961 A.D. However, the brāhmannical settlement Kāmaravalli - chaturvēdimaṅgalam was already in existence as *brahmadēya.* But there is no evidence available for the constitution of this *brahmadēya.* This also indicates that the temple was constructed or come into prominence in the said period.

The inscription[9] under review is found engraved on the north, west and south walls of the central shrine. The text runs into two lines and is incomplete. However, what is left out does not appear to be much and the missing portion contains only the names of the signato-

ries, which, however, can be restord with the help of another record of the same king from this temple dated in his 26th regnal year wherein the same signatories figure.[10]

It begins with usual *praśasti* of the king *Pugal̤=mādu - vil̤aṅga,.* It states that in the 27th regnal year of the king in the month of Tula, 10th day of the bright fortnight, Sunday when the star Sadaiyam was current (equivalent to 18th October 1097 A.D), the general assembly (*peruṅguṟi*) of the *mahāsabhā* of Śrī Kāmaravalli - charuppēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* of Viṟai-kūṟṟam in Gēyamāṇikkavaḷanāḍu assembled at Tirukkāṟkōṭīśvaram uḍaiyār temple at the above village, Kāmaravalli, after having the drum beaten, trumpet blown and constituted into an administrative body passed a resolution, according to which a land which had been in the name of the temple was left fallow with breaches for a period of 35 years prior to the twenty-seventh regnal year of the king (1097 A.D) At the latter date, the temple officials reclaimed it, reared it and converted it into a garden, named. It was 'pichchadēvan'. The *sabhā*, however, assigned the produce for offerings and worship (*archahanābhōgam)* to the deity and also exempted the temple from the payment of tax, *iṟaiyili-kāśu* and other dues if they were claimed by the local chieftain (*Kōmaṟṟamar*).

Vīran Dāmōdaranār of Ādaṉūr in Chōḷamahādēvichēri, Nārāyaṇa - sahasranār at Muppiral in Avanikar-avachchēri, Lakshmaṇa śrīkaṇṭanār of Rājakēsaripālai and a few others figure as signatories to the transaction.

The inscription is fairly free from the orthographical though the engraver has committed a few mistakes. like Kāmaravaliṭch-charumpēdi - maṅgalattu for Kāmaravalli - charuppēdimaṅgalattu and *arjjanābhōgam* for *archchanābhōgam.* Again in instead of engraving *taṭṭaḷikoṭṭi kāḷam=ūdi dhammi śeydu* which is a usual phrase normally found chōḷa inscriptions and which is also a correct proceedure in conveuing the local assembly, the engraver slurred over *dhammi-seyidu* and hastily engraved as *dhammi-ūdi* which makes little sense. [11] Regarding this K.V.Subrahmanya Aiyer opined[12] that notice or intimation of assembly meetings used to be given by some special signal which, it might be said, was well understood at the time both by the people and the members. The blowing of trumpets was one such device. Sometimes the inscription use the phrase *dharmi=ūdi* or *eḻudi* or *dharmi śeydu* in place of *kāḷam=ūdi.*[13] Though we cannot be certain about the interpretation of the phrase there is no doubt that it must have reference to the proclamation of the meetings of village assemblies. The use of the word *eḻudi* (writing) in some places and *ūdi* (blowing) in others with the object *dharmi* seems to show that the announcement of a coming gathering of the assembly was sometimes made by the blowing of instrument and sometimes made by the blowing of instrument and sometimes by the issue of written notification. *Dharmi* seems to be connected with *dharma* and to have reference to the transaction of the assembly.[2]

We may however suggest that *dharmi* denotes temple administrators. Hence *dharmi-śeydu* implied that brāhmanical assembly *sabhā* had the right to administer the temples and when matters pertaining to temple came up they functioned as *dharmis.*

Such a proceedure of beating drums and blowing trumpets was found necessary to herald the announcement of the meeting of the local assembly to urge the members to assemble at the stipulated place to take important decisions. Infact the Taṇḍanatōṭṭam plates [14] refer to a grant of land to the drummer who were attached to the temple there. It is likely that the temple drummers were employed for convening the meeting of local assembly because of the fact that the local assembly normally met at the temple premises and conducted their deliberations. In fact an inscription[15] from Tiruviḷakkuḍi dated in the 3rd regnal year of Rājakēsarivarman records an endowment of two pieces of land and a house site by the *sabhā* of Murugavēḷmaṅgalam for the maintenance of three persons sounding the *kāḷam* and gong during the *śrībali* service in the temple of Mahādēvarmaṅgalanakkar in that village. The same musical instrument might also have been used for convening the local assembly.

The inscription under review states that the *sabhā* had ordered that the produce obtained from the temple land which was reclaimed by the temple authorities should be utilised for conducting offerings and worship. This obviously raises an interesting question as to what ***locus standi* the *sabhā* possessed over the** land owned by the temple?

Since historic times the rulers of Tamil country donated lands to the learned brāhmaṇas and to the temples. The Pullūr plates of Nandivarman III[16], Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of the same king[17], the Kumaraḍimaṅgalam plates of Nandivarman III[18] (856 A.D.), Chiṟṟūr plates of Nṛipatuṅga[19], all these plates refer to the land grants not only to the *brāhmaṇas* but also to the temples. Where land was not donated, it was stipulated that the paddy should be measured as in the Vēlañjēri plates of Aparājitavarman. It was because of that reason memtioned the temple was an important institution in the medieval Tamil society. Other professionals like drummers, water carriers[20], fire-kindlers[21] and also priests who expounded *bhāratham*[22] and other professionals were also given lands [23]. In other words the aim was that whenever *brahmadēya* was formed it should not be bereft of facilities and infrastructure. It is more so in the earlier period becuase the temple was the nuclei of the *brahmadēya*. Apart from providing religious solace the temple also served as rendezvous where the local assemblies frequently met.[24] Hence land share were invariably made to the temples along with others when a new *brahmadēya* was created.

Reverting back to our inscription under review, the land share that was allotted to the temple at Kāmaravallichaturvēdimaṅgalam when the latter *brahmadēya* was formed. In all likelihood it was either a fallow one or subsequently fell fallow. The local assembly which was responsible for the progress and development would not have allowed the land remained uncultivated for long, because **the local assembly was the ultimate au**thority in improving the economic conditions of the township. It would have induced or even financed the temple to reclaim the land. [25] However, on one condition that its produce would be utilised for offerings and worship in the temple. The temple authorities would not have agreed to reclaim the land because the land being an infertile one and the amount of taxes collected from it after cultivation

would not have been commensurate with the little produce obtained after the expensive reclamation, cultivation and subsequent remittance of taxes. To make up this loss, the *sabhā* had agreed not to levy any taxes such as *iṟaiyili-kāśu* and if the *kō* claimed any such taxes the *sabhā* agreed to remit the same.

The inscription informs that the land had been lying fallow for the past 35 years before the 27th regnal year of Kulōttuṅgachōḷa I i.e., the land had not been brought under plough since 1062 A.D. This fact is supported by another record[26] dated in the 26th regnal year of the same king from the same place which states that the Śiva temple at Kāmarasavalli-chaturvēdimaṅgalam found neglected and thus neither the *bali* ceremony nor the processions could be conducted. The assembly of Kāmaravalli-chaturvēdimaṅgalam decided to revive these items of service in the temple by collecting *Kuruṇi* of paddy from each harvested field of *1 mā* in extent by growing paddy millet or gingeli; one nut from every areca tree and an *uḷakku* of oil from each *veḷḷaḷan's* house in the village and its hamlets. It was also decided that these collections were to be made by the officers collecting revenue (*vāriyam*). These facts are further corroborated by the non-availability of any inscriptions of ruler in this temple from the 19th regnal year of Rājēndrachōla I[27] (1041 A.D.) till the 26th regnal year inscription of Kulōtturga chōḷa I (1096 A.D.) the temple had been in a neglected state for nearly sixty years and during that period lands of the Kāṟkōṭkēsvara temple fell fallow and all the festivals, worship and offerings came to astand still.

The inscription informs that as per the resolution the temple was exempted from the payment of taxes such as *iṟaiyili-kāśu* and other taxes and if it was levied by the *kō*, the *sabhā* undertook the responsibility of remitting them on behalf of the temple. Here the *iṟaiyili-kāśu* denotes a consolidated payment taken from *iṟaiyili* lands in lieu of all miscellaneous levies such as *echchōṟu, veṭṭi, vēdiṉai* etc., to which *kō* i.e., local chieftain was entitled. But the *sabhā* came to the rescue of the temple and declared that the temple need not pay even this and made it total free enabling the temple to conduct the stipulated offerings and worship.

The place name Kāmaravalli was probly often the name of a Chōḷa queen. Kāmadavalli means a lady with pleasing appearance who attracts and allures others. In course of time it was changed to Kāmaravalli, Kāmarasavalli, to suit the phonetical convenience.

There are several *chēris* or wards in this settlement.[27]

1. Chōḷamādēvi-chēri[27]
2. Avanigandarva-chēri
3. Rājakēsari-chēri
4. Kāmadavalli-chēri

An inscription of Rājēndrachōḷa I mentions the wards of Kāmaravalli-chaturvēdimaṅgalam thus:

First ward - Avanigandarava-chēri
Second ward - Rājakēsari-chēri
Third ward - Kāmaravalli-chēri
Fourth ward - Chōḷamahādēvi-chēri

Hence, it is evident that during the period under review Kāmaravalli-chaturvēdimaṅgalam was divided into four wards. It was a busy brāhmanical centre, the scene of social, economic and cultural activities of the region.

TEXT

1. Svasti śrī pugaḻ-mādu viḷanaya-mādu virumba nila-magaḷ nilava malar-magaḷ puṇara urimaiyiṟanda maṇi-muḍi-śūḍi Mīnavar nilaikeḍa Villavar kulai tara Vikkalar Siṅgaṇar mēlkaḍal pāyatikkuaṉaittum tan chakkara nāḍātti Vīra - simhāsa battyp = purana mulu - uḍaiyāḷḷ = ōdum viṟṟirund = aruliya kō-Rājakēsaripamar = āṉa Tribu(bhu) vanachakravttigaḷ śrī Kulōtuṅga Chōḻa dēvaṟku yāṇḍu 27 - āvadu tulā nāyaṟṟup = pūrvapakshattu daśmiyum nāyaṟṟukkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa sadaiyatti nāṉṟu Gēya vinōda - vaḷanāṭṭu viṟaik = kūṟṟatu brahhmadēyam śrī Kāmaravallich-charumpēdimaṁgalattip[1] perumkuṟi Mahā-sabhaiyōm engaḷūr Uḍaiyār Tiru=arkōḍ īsvaram-uḍaiyār kōyililē taṭṭali koṭṭi dhammi ūdik=kūttakuraivarak = kūḍi irundu paṇippaḷittu (panittu) sabhā-vivstahi seida pariśāvade uḍaiyār Tirukkāṟkōḍiśvaram-uḍaiyār tirunāmattāl kiḍanta nilatu Sōḻamādēvi vadikku kiḻt-Tiruvārūr vāikkālukkut-teṟku iraṇḍāṅ kaṇṇāṟṟu mudal śadirattu mēṟkaḍaiya nālu māvil teṟkaḍaiya nilam iraṇḍu māvil ka.... yak Kōdaṇḍarāmp = peruvākkaāl nilam arai mārvarai= kāni...ka mēṟ=aḍaiya nilam mā-kāṇi-araik=āṇiyum mūṉṟāṅ kaṇṇāṟṟu mudal-śadirattu vaḍakil nālu māvil mēṟk=aḍaiya iraṇḍi māvil kiḻa=aḍiya nilam arai va-

2. kaḷ śrī Kōlōttuṅgachōḻa-dēvaṟku yāṇḍu 27 āvadukku muṉbu 35 san-mavarattin uddēsam ōḍaiyum-uḍaippumāy payir seyya uṇṇādē kiḍandamaiyil yāṇḍu 27-avadu it-tēvar-kanmigaḷ Pichchadēvan tiraunanda vāṉanenuum piyarāl tirunandavaṉamāga tiruttit = tamaṟkk = āgum payir śēdu in - nilattu vanda bhōgam = it-tēvaṟku arjjnā[2] bhōgamāga nāṅgal viṭṭamayili - nilattukku vanda iṟaiyilik - kāśum maṟṟum eppēpaṭṭidu sendrāttavaṟ iṟukka kaḍavarvallāda [r] gaḷāgavam in - nilattuu iṟaiyilik - kāśum maṟṟum eppērppaṭṭidum kōmaṟṟavar koḻḻil nāṅgaē iṟukkā - kkaḍavōm=āgavum ip-pariśu sammadittu sabhā-vivasthai sēdōm perum-kuṟi Mahāsabhaiyōm ip-padi paritār Sōḻḻamāhādēvich-chēri Ādanūr Vīran Dāmōdaranārum Avanikaralach-chēri[3] Muppirāl Nārāyaṇān Sahasrṇārum Rājakēsari-chērip pālai Lakshumaṇan Śrī kaṇṭanānum kāmaravalli - chēri kūvaṇḍūr Śrī Nārāyaṇan[4] Śaharanārum paṇiyāluḷḷa kaṇakku... Maṅgalam-Uḍaiyāṉ Nārayaṇaṉ Tirumā[5] ...eḻuttu ippaḍikku-ivai Toḻu[6].

1. Read Charuppēdimaṅgalattu
2. Read archchanabhōgam-āga
3. May be Avanikantappa chēri or Avanikandarva chēri
4. In the other record it is written as Kūvaṇḍūr Aṉantaṇārāyaṇaṉ Sahasram
5. Sūlamaṅgalam Uḍaiyāṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ Tirumāliruñchōli
6. May be completed as *Toḻūr Bhuvatta Nāgaṉ eḻuttu*

Notes and References

1. *A.R.Ep.*1914, No.61-95
2. *Ibid.*, No.76

3. *Ibid.*, No.62
4. *Ibid.*, No.65
5. *Ibid.*, No.88
6. *S.I. I.*, Vol.XIII, No.109
7. *Ibid.*, No.106
8. *Ibid.*, Vol.XXII, No.301 K.A.Nilakanta Sastri: *The Cōḷas* p.134 (1984)
9. *A.R.Ep.* 1914 No.66
10. This inscription is (*A.R.Ep.*, 1914 No.73) found engraved on the west and south wall of the central shrine of the present Kāṟkōṭakēśvara temple. It is dated in the 26th regnal year of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I (1096 A.D.) It calls the temple as Śrī Kayilāśam *alias* Rājēndrachōḷa Isvaram Uḍaiyār of Śrī Kāmaravalli-charuppēdimaṇgalam. But the record which is being examined here (*A.R.Ep.*1914, No.66) and which is engraved on the same spot and belongs to the same ruler calls the same temple Tirukāṟkōṭīśvaram - uḍaiyār of Śrī Kāmaravalli-charuppēdimaṅgalam. Hence, it is evident that during the same period the same Śiva temple at Kāmaravalli was called by different names.
11. The above record (*A.R.Ep.*, 1914, No.73) also contains the same phrase *taṭṭaḷi koṭṭid dammi ūdik=kūṭṭa kuṟaiyāmal kūḍi irundu.* It appears that such frequent occurences of faulty passage were generally accepted and understood by all.
12. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol.XXIV, p.36
13. *S.I.I.*, Vol.XIII, No.73 However, an inscription of Rājarāja I from Puḷḷamaṅgai says *dharmi taṭṭaḷi koṭṭi kāḷam ūdi mahāsabhai kūḍi irundu.* See. *A.R.Ep.*, 1921, No.553
14. *S.I.I.*, Vol.II, No.99, p.527
15. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol.XVI, p.156
16. *S.I.I.*, Vol.II, No.99
17. In the Kumaraḍimaṅgalam plates it is mentioned, that one share was allotted to Mahāvishṇu. See *M.S.Somasekhara Sharma Commemoration Volume,* Hyderbad (1976), p.204
18. *Studies in Medieval Deccan History*, Hyderabad (1972), p.74
19. *S.I.I.*, Vol.XIII, No.187
20. *A.R.Ep.*, 1942, No.127
21. *S.I.I.* Vol. VI, No.12
22. *Ibid.*, Vol.XIII, No.187
23. K.V. Soundararajan *The Kaleidoscopic activities of Medieval Temples in Tamil Nadu, QJMS,* Vol.XLII, No.3.
24. An inscription of Kullōttuṅgachōḷa I from Kāñchīpuram (1116 A.D.) states that the members of Śrī Kulōttuṅgachōḷa - charnppēdimaṅgalam sold a piece of land as tax-free to a dancing-girl, Sāttāṅgi Toḷi of the temple Śrī Kulōṭtuḷgachōla-Viṇṇagar at Kāñchīpuram for five *kāśu.* She purchased this land and gifted the same to the temple as *maṭhapuṟam* in order to provide food offerings to the devotees and piligrims. The land which was a common property of the *sabhā* had been left fallow

for a long time with forests and wild shrubs grown. The land was also uneven and fetched no taxes to the *sabhā*. The temple officials who received the land thus donated cleared the forests and reclaimed the land. With the produce thus obtained and which was payable to the deity, they agreed to feed the devotees and piligrims. *S.I.I*, Vol.IV No. 134.

Thus it is evident that the *sabhā* wherever located were keen in bringing the fallow, forests and uncultivated lands which were under their control, under plough.

It yield regular income in the form of taxes to the *sabhā* and also accelerated the progress and development of the villages as also it provided regular employment and sustenance to many.

25. *A.R.Ep.* 1914, No.73

26. *Ibid.*, No.65

27. *Ibid.*

24. ROCK INSCRIPTION FROM SHIVPURI

Jai Prakash

The Ochre coloured painted inscription is edited here with the kind permission of Shri.M.N.Katti, Director (Epigraphy). It is found in a cave locally known as 'Chudaila Chhaja' (i.e. ghost shelter). The cave is located at a distance of 18 kms. from Shivpuri, the headquarters of the Shivpurri District in Madhya Pradesh. The inscription is in one line. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The characters are Brāhmi, regular for the second century B.C.

The inscription was commented upon by J.P.Jain[1]. Since the readings given by him are faylty the inscription is being re-edited. It records the making of paintings by *bhagavata kinharakhita*, *bhadaka* Satabhatika who was probably the son of Kōsika and Svira.

The inscription is interesting in as much as it shows the prevalence of Vaishṇava tradition in the Shivpuri District as early as second century B.C. It provides the earliest epigraphical reference to the Bhāgavata cult, for which the most ancient epigraphical reference was hitherto provided by the Besenagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription[2] of the time of Bhagabhadra assignable to 2nd century B.C.

TEXT[3]

Bhagavata (te) na Kinharakhita (te) na Bhadaka (ke) na Satabhatika (ke) na Kosikaputena Svirasutena Ka(kri) ta

Translation:

(The paintings were) done by *bhagavata* Kinharakhita, Bhadaka, Satabhatika, probably the son of Kosiki and Svira[4].

Notes and References

1. K.K.Chakravarti, *Rock Art of India*, p. 241.
2. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* vol.I, p.88.
3. From Photograph
4. I am thankful to Dr. M.D.Sampath and Dr.S.S.Iyer for their valuable suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

25. A NOTE ON TWO ŚĀLAṄKĀYANA CHARTERS FROM KĀNUKOLLU

P. Krishna Mohan Reddy

A. Plates of Nandivarman (I) year 14 *Ep.Ind.* Vol. 31, p.1

This is the earliest of the 2 sets. The characters are of early class of southern alphabet. They resemble closely Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi and Mayidavōlu plates of Pallava Śivaskandavarman and Koṇḍamuḍi plates of Bṛihataphalāyana king Jayavarman. The language of the inscription is Prakrit prose with the exception of lines 30-37 which contain 2 customary imprecatory verses in Sanskrit.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Pidiha as an *agrahāra* by Mahārāja Nandivarman, for the increase of his merit, etc., and also for the increase of the fame and fortune of Bālaka–Mahārāja Kumāra Khandapotta, to a certain Chāturvejja of the Rathakāra caste.

B. Plates of Skandavaraman, year Ibid., p. 10.

The language of the inscription is Sanśkṛit. Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* Skandavarman is said to have donated the village of Kompara in Kudrāhāra to the *Chāturvaidya,* a resident of *Rathakāra* having made it a *brahmadēya* and exempting it from all taxes.

There seems to be some controversy regarding the *rathakāra-chāturvidya*, which according to D.C.Sircar is a community of Chāturvaidya Brāhmaṇas[1] and for B.V.Krishan Rao the plates of Nandivarman explicitly speak of the donation made in accordance with the rites and rules pertaining to Rathakāra caste. He further draws attention to Macdonel and Keith, citing a number of authorities on the social position and importance of the Rathakāras from the Vēdic literature. Bühler pointed out how the ancient Vēdic in certain cases admitted the *Rathakāra* or carpenter, who has *Śūdra* blood in his veins, to the participation *Śrauta* rites, how the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* gives certain *mantras* to be recited by the Rathakāras at the *Agnyādhōna* sacrifice and how Baudhāyana derives the origin of the Rathaka from a *Vaiśya* male and *Śūdra* female and explicity allows him to receive the sacrament of initiation[2].

Though we do not know exactly why such importance to the so called *Śūdra Rathkāras* was given, the above statements confirm that the *Ratahatakāras* enjoyed a high position in the Vēdic society, as proven by their participation in the Vēdic rituals and formed a separate community, probably, mostly of carpenters. The importance perhaps was owing to their chariot - making and metallurgy works which were both very necessary for the king and kingdom for social as well as religious purposes. D.C. Sircar opines "it is difficult to believe that the Rathakāras or carpenters could have enjoyed such a position in the Brāhmanical society and been especially noted for their mastery over the four Vedas as well as devotion to *tapaḥ-svādhyāya.* A community like the so called Viśva-Brāhmaṇas of Andhra can hardly be described as belonging to nānā-gōtra-charaṇas."

It, thus again contradicts the views held by Macdonel, Keith and Bühler, despite their references as noted, that in the Vēdic age they enjoyed a high social sta-

tus.

If we look back into the social conditions which prevailed in the pre Śālaṅkāyana period, the Śūdras rose to the level of participating in the religious donations and constructions. It is highly probable that during the Śālaṅkāyanas who immediately succeeded the Ikshvākus, some of them might have enjoyed the same social status; the Rathakāras, especially for their mastry in chariot making metal works, etc. The place from where the inscription comes too, had been under the influence of the Ikshvākus. The language of the inscription, too continued to be Prakrit during the Ikshvākus, as evidenced in the plates of Nandivarman I.

The copper plates of the time of Madhukārnadēva[4] an eastern Gaṅga King speak of the gift of 3 villages Pādugrama, Hondarvada and Morakina to the illustrious Erapa Nāyaka as made as a *Vaiśyāgrahāra.* He was the son of Manehi Nāyaka, who belonged to the family of *Vaśyas* or traders. We may suppose that a Rathakāra *agrahāra* of the *Rathakāra Chāturvaidya* community may be compared with the *Vaisyāgrahāra* in the sense that both were the gifts of the Brāhmanical kings, to the non-Brāhmaṇs, having made them into *Agrahāras.*

On a closer look at the other inscription of the *Śālaṅkāyanas* one would come to the conclusion that the donation in the Kānukollu plates was only to the *Rathakāras* and not to the *Brāhmaṇas,* for in the other inscriptions of the Śālaṇkāyanas the Brāhmin donee were specified. They are also known from their traditional and conspicuous personal names as well as *Gōtras.* The following is the list of the Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions which are concerned with the *Brāhmaṇa* donees.

1. Kaṇṭēru plates of *Śivārya* (Brahmin) of Maudgalya - gōtra *Ep. Ind.,* p. 42 ff)

2. Plates of Vijayadēvavarman. donee - *Gaṇaśarman* of the Ba(bhura) - gōtra *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. 9 p. 56 ff.)

3. Penugoṇḍa plates of Hastivarman: donees were 60 Brāhmins belonging to *various gōtras* and *haranas Ep. Ind.,* Vol. 35 p. 145 ff.)

4. Dhārikāṭūra grant of Achanda varmaṇ, year 36 donees - *Bhavaskanda Śarmārya* and *Bhartriśarma,* from Donnampi. (*Ibid.,*Vol. 36 p. 1ff)

5. Kollair grant of Nandivarman II: donees - 157 *Brāhmaṇas.*

The *Peddavēgi* plate of Nandivarman II[5] record "gift of *Dēvhalam* cultivable, to the cow-herds of Arutōre, belonging to Vishnugṛihasvāmi, the lord of the 3 worlds. It appears that even during the Śālaṇkāyana period, the *Śūdras* enjoyed a high social status. Therefore, it may not be improper to suggest that the *Rathakāras* were the receivers of villages. Further, in the Kānukollu plates, they are not specified as brāhmins, which appears customarily in the Śālaṅkāyana charters. Another interesting feature is not to mention the number of donees (if they are brāhmins) in the Kānukollu plates, while in the others they are mentioned as 60 and 157 in the plates of Hastivarman and Nandivarman II respectively. The personal names of the *Brāhmaṇa* in all these inscriptions had suffixes *Śarma* or *Śarmārya* and is not the case with the Kānukollu plates , if *Chāturvaidya* is taken as a persoanl name.

The term *Chāturvaidya* according to D.C.Sircar should be taken in the sense of a community of *chāturvaidya brāhmaṇas* since there mention of *nānāgōtra* and *charaṇa*.[6] But in the plates of Skandavarman , year I, they are simply called *Rathakāra vāstavyāya - chāturvaidyāya.'* So, according to B.V.Krishna Rao it is a personal name *Chāturvaidya*, residing in *Rathakāra*. In the absence of *gōtra* and *charaṇa* the author might have taken *chāturvaidya* as the name of a person. D.C.Sircar opines that *Rathakāra* is the name of the village in which *Chāturvaidya* Brāhmins lived.

For B.V.Krishna Rao, there is no village with the name of *Rathakāra*[7] It is further not convincing, why a village inhabited by the *chāturvaidya brāhmaṇas* be named after the *Rathakāras*, the so called śūdras during that 'early period' in the Brāhmanical society. In the plates of Nandivarman I, year 12 they are described as *Agrahāra Rathakāras,* while there is a notable omission of the term *Agrahāra*, before *Rathakāra* in the charters of Skandavarman. Perhaps *Agrahāra Rathakāra* stood for *'Rathakāras* who reside in the *Agrahāras*. Even if it is *'Rathakāra Agrahāra* it is unreasonable to dissociate it from the Rathakāras.

Moreover, the donation was made in accordance with the rituals and ceremonies pertaining to the *Rathakāras*[8], ruling out the possibility of their identification with the Brāhmins or any other caste. As already shown it can be a *'Rathakāra - agrahāra* such as the *'vai' śy - āgrahāra'*.

B.V.Krishna Rao informs that "in east Āndhradēśa, in the districts of Guntur, Krishna and west and east Godavari, there is a class of *Viśva-brāhmaṇas* who call themselves *Rathakāras* and claim their descent from the primaeval Viśvakarman. The orthodox among them study the Vēdas, particularly the Black *Yajurvēda* and regard themselves as even superior to *Brāhmaṇas*. They follow the *Gṛihya sūtra* of *Āpastamba* in their rituals which are conducted by priests of their own community although, when no such priest is available, they invite a Brāhmaṇa". This presupposes that the *Rathakāras* not only studied the Vēda but also conducted rituals on their own. Interestingly, this also coincides with the facts revealed from the Vēdic literature by Macdonell, Keith and Bühler.

The significance of Krishna Rao's statement lies in the fact that, even today no one from the *Śūdra* community studied or claims to have studie the Vēda. Then how could the *Rathakāras*, the so called Śūdras possess the knowledge of the Vēda and the rituals? Since their Vēdic knowledge cannot be explained to have been acquired in a day, the practice of learning and reciting the Vēda must have been since a very long time, perhaps from the Vēdic period itself. Therefore, it may not be improper to assume that they were well versed in the Vēda even during the earlier times and held a respectful status in the society and hence been called *Chāturvaidya*.

I thank Prof. S. S. Ramachandramurthy, Dr. S. P. Tewari and Dr. D. Kirankranth Choudary for their suggestions and encouragement.

* Also see article - The Status of the Rathakāras in early Indian History - Vivekananda Jha. (*JIH*, Vol. 52, P. 39-47.)

Notes and References

1. *Ep. Ind.;* Vol. XXXI p.4 and note 1.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 3
3. *Ibid.,* p. 4 and note 1.
4. *JAHRS* Vol. 8, pp. 168-170 ff.
5. *Ibid.,*Vol. I, p. 92 ff.
6. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXXI, p. 2 and note 7
7. *Ibid.,* p. 9 ff.
8. *Ibid.,* p. 3
9. *Ibid.,* p. 4

BOOK REVIEW

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE EARLY DECCAN : SOME INTERPRETATIONS

Edited by *Aloka Parashar - Sen:* pp. 304; Manohar, New Delhi, 1993;
Price Rs 350.00.

The present work represents an excellent collection of studies by Aloka Parashar-Sen and by a couple of her students, viz. J. Krishna Prasad Bạbu and Tejaswini Yarlagadda. In all there are five studies , two by her students and rest by the Editor herself. The first study highlights most of the work, more particularly the recent one, on the various problems of the early Deccanese history tracingi its gradual development and change in perspectives and approaches. Parashar-Sen rightly pleads for an integrated history where all the political, socio-economic and cultural aspects are brought to bear upon each other and present a whole rather than parts. Her definition of the Deccan is quite wide and takes into account all the region to the south of the Narmada. excluding the Tamil and Malayalam speaking regions and certain adjoining areas. The second study, also by her, traces the beginnings of culture and civilization in the Deccan on the basis of archaeological data where the inscriptional sources have an important say. It is rightly pointed out that the tribal beginnings developed into a civilization by about the beginning of the first century AD under the Sātavāhanas who gave the Deccan its first autochthonous empire. She has made a judicious extensive use of the data supplied by all the archeaological work and epigraphy. The study is supplemented by numerous charts presenting in a nutshell the course of evolution from cultural to civilizational whole which is very useful to scholars as well as common reader. The next paper by J. Krishna Prasad Babu attempts an analytical study of socio-economic changes from the fourth to the seventh century AD primarily on the basis of the copperplate grants of the Vishṇukuṇḍins and their vassals in combination with some other archaelogical sources. It is rightly pointed out with the help of the extant data that the period in question forms a transitional stage between the ancient and the mediaeval phase and thus occupies a very important stage for socio-economic study of the Deccan. Settlements of the Vishṇukuṇḍin period are also located as far as the available material allows. The fourth paper by Tejaswini analyses the epigraphical and archaeological data with a view to study the social groups and economic changes during the period from the seventh to the thirteenth century AD. This timeframe marks the entire early mediaeval phase and thereby forms a very crucial period. Its end marked the loss of independence by the indigenous ruling families to the Muslim invaders from the North who hereafter became politically supreme in the Deccan as hitherto and hereafter in the North. She rightly concludes that this period was marked by the growth in agricultural production because of the expansion of private farms cultivated with help of bonded labour as

well as the growth of urbanism marked by wide-spread use of coinage. This is indeed an exhaustive study of the theme though it appears to have some tinge of marxist interpretation. This last study by Aloka concerns itself with the economic status of temple girls or *devdāsīs* from the eighth to the thirteenth century AD primarily on the basis of land-grants and shows that numerous grants of lands were made to them by kings and they stood apart from the generality of womenfolk in as much as they had a right to own land, though the general attitude to them was far from healthy. This is quite a significant contribution for the study of the economic aspect of this institution. All the studies are supplemented by topicwise tabulated information gleaned from inscriptions and other archaeological sources so as to make this discussion easily intelligible to even a common interested reader and by maps which give an idea of the territory dealt with. All the studies except the last one, which is quite interesting and useful otherwise, give a good idea of the development of socio-economic life in the region up to the thirteenth century AD. It must be noted, however, that the studies are mainly concerned with that part of Deccan that is comprised in the present states of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka and may be designated as central and southern Deccan and there ia almost nothing regarding what is called western and northern Deccan. Then in several cases references leave much to be desired. For instance, in my own case the writings on the Sātavāhanas and Vishṇukuṇḍins as originally published in the *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations* (ed. Ajày Mitra Shastri, Nagpur University, 1972, pp.103-09) and the *Journal of Indian History* XLIV, 1966, pp.50-57 respectively are left out while as collected later in the *Early History of the Deccan : Problems and Perpectives*, Delhi, 1987) are referred to with the result that my own views appear, at least in the latter case, following some other scholars.This could have been easily avoided.

On the whole,this is an excellent publication which should serve as a reference work for any serious student interested in grasping the growth of socio-economic life in the central and southern Deccan.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

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To Studies in Indian Epigraphy
Journal of Epigraphical Society of India

By. K. Subramaniyam

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Vidarbha (146)
Vijayāditya (237)
Vijayanagar (44)
Vijayanagara (311), (330), (349)
Vijayapuri (318)
Vijayarāghava (354)
Vijayarājēndra (383)
Vikramadhavala (282)
Vikramāditya I (238), (262), (325), (326)
Vikramāditya VI (27)
Vīrasōmidēva (402)
Vīāspur (297)
Vispur (?34)
Vyāghrarāja (213)
V' unna Kadphises (46)
West Bengal (62)
Wima (34)
Yaśōvermadēva (358)
Yaudhēya Seal (67)
Yuddhapura (408)

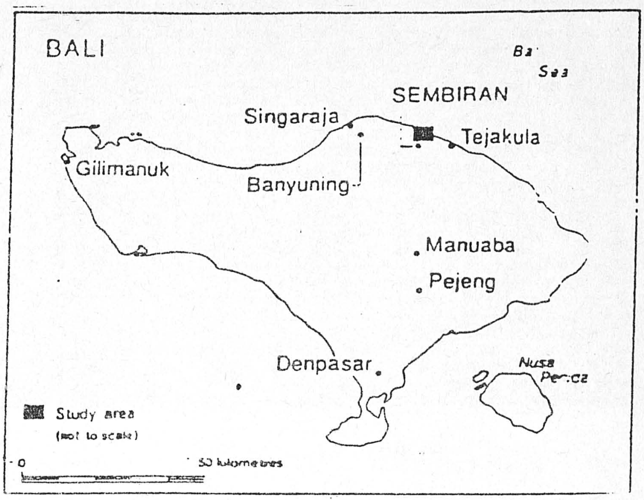


Fig.1 SEMBIRAN, BALI, INDONESIA

Fig.2 INSCRIBED SHERD FROM SEMBIRAN

Fig. 2

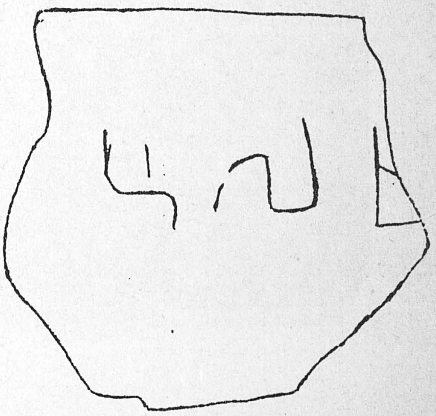


Fig.3 EYE-COPY OF INSCRIPTION (after Romila Thapar)

A Brāhmī Inscription from Bali
(For article No. 2)

Dharmasthaḷa Plates of Chālukya Vinayāditya
(For article No. 6)

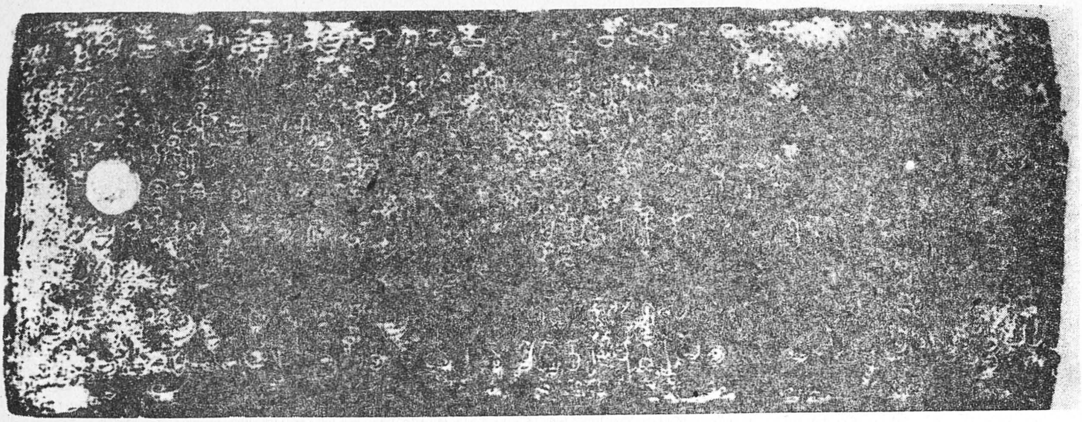


PLATE I

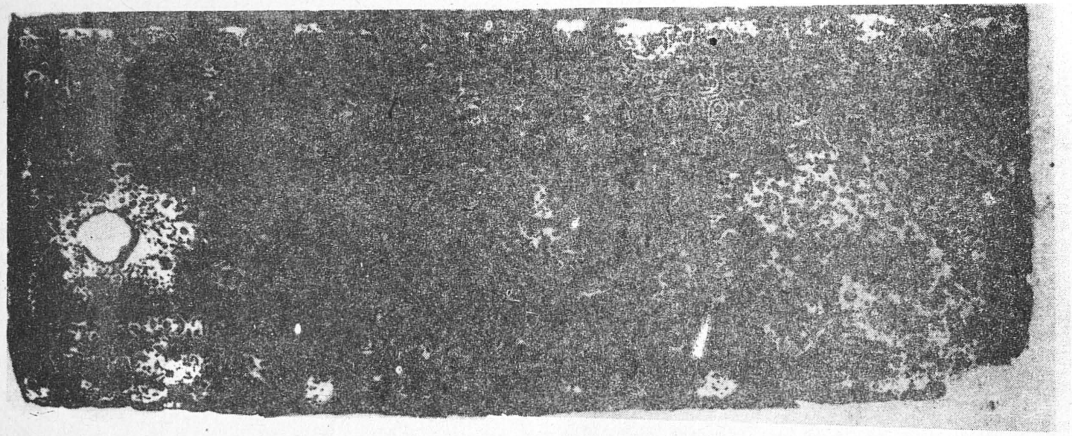


PLATE II First Side

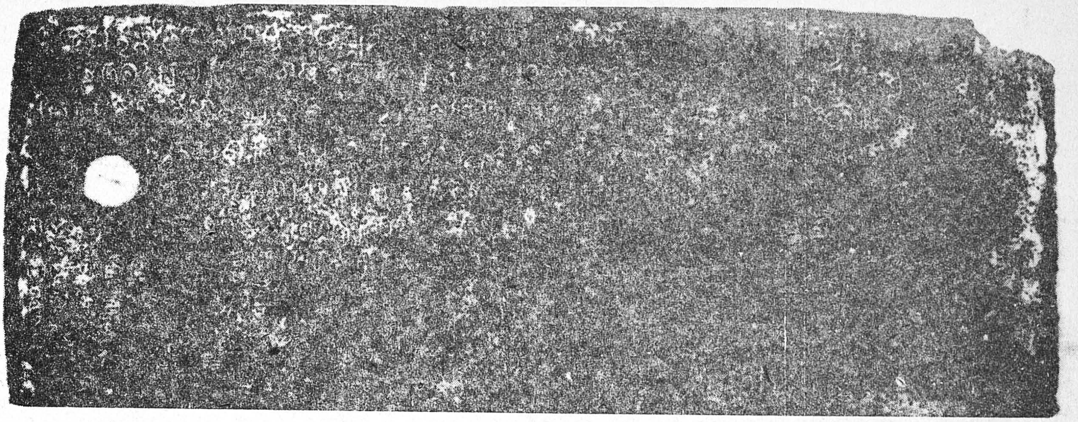


PLATE II Second Side

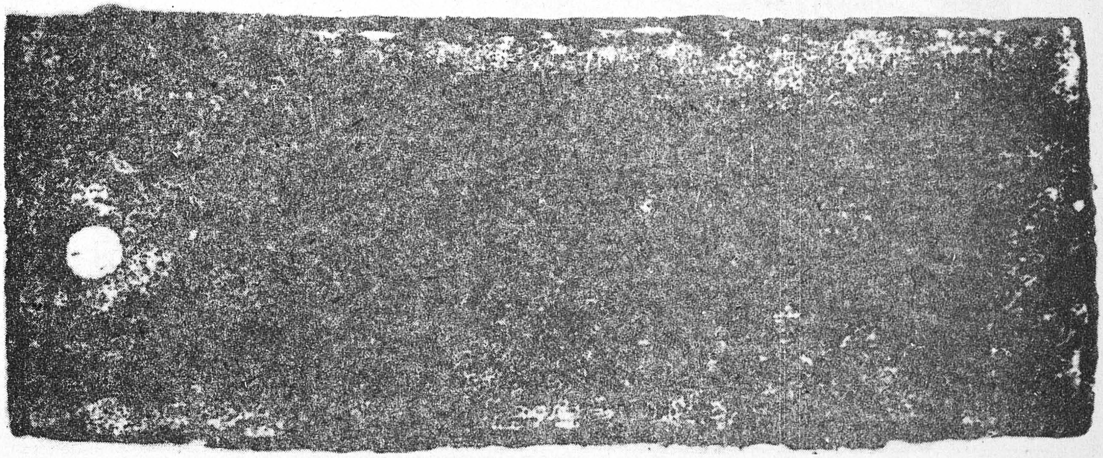
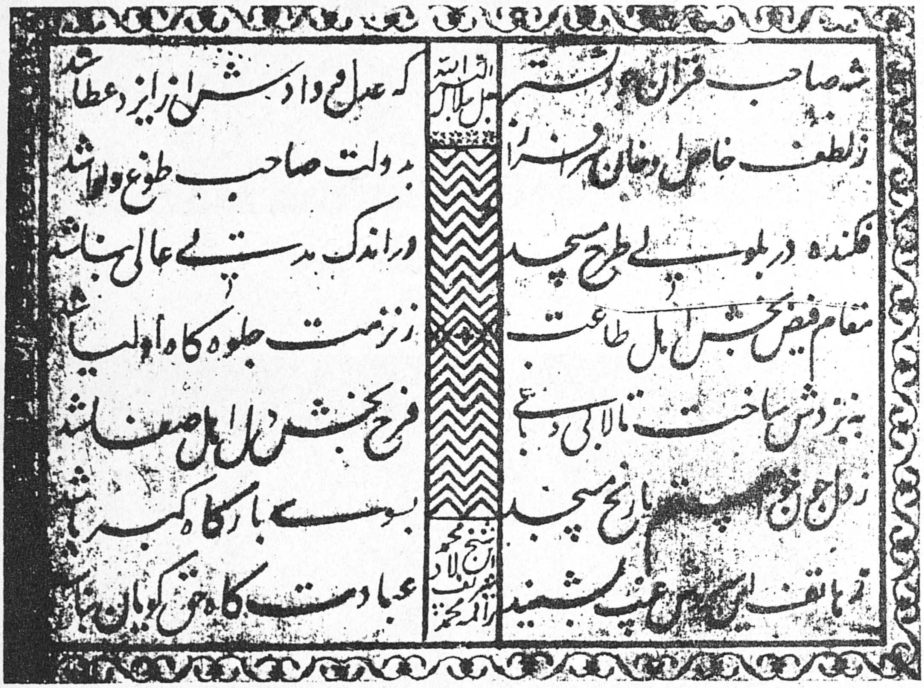
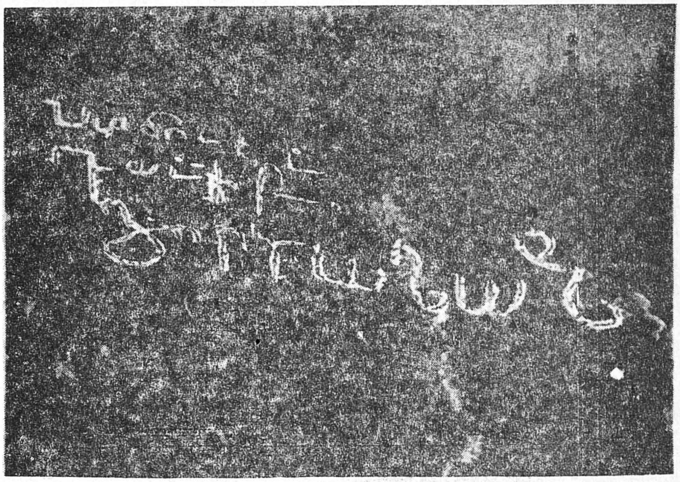


PLATE III



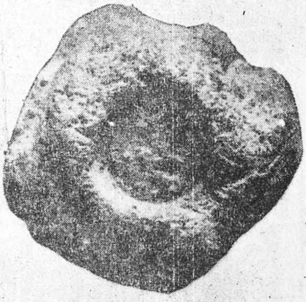
A Mughal Inscription From Biloia

(For article No. 10)



An Inscription from Himachal Pradesh
(For article No. 5)

Pl. I



Pl. II

Some Inscribed Seal Impressions
(For article No. 12)

A Bilingual Ādil Shāhi Inscription from Sholapur.
(For article No. 21)

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